

162

A
COLLECTION
OF

Ancient Monuments

Relating to the

TRINITY

AND

INCARNATION,

And to the

History of the Fourth Century

OF THE

CHURCH.

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Note, that most of the Monuments taken out of Eusebius or Socrates are from the English Translation printed at Cambridge A. D. 1683.

E R R A T A.

E S S A Y I.

Page 5. Line 3. dele *in*, l. 6. read *who*, l. 13. r. *there*. p. 8. l. penult. r. *different*. p. 9. l. 13. r. *Of Abgarus to our Saviour*, and add at the bottom, *See Dr. Grabe's Spicileg. Tom. I. p. 1—12. and p. 313.—326.*

E S S A Y II.

Pag. 194. l. 14. r. *those of Gregory*. p. 197. r. *Αναδυναπσάτωσαν*.

THE
HISTORY
OF
ABGARUS
TOPARCH OF EDESSA;
WITH

His Epistle to Christ, and Christ's Reply;
as given us by *Eusebius* from the Authentick
Records of that City. *Hist. Eccles.* l. i. c. 13.

THE Divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ being every where famous, by reason of his wonderful Power, by which he wrought Miracles, drew together an innumerable Company even of Foreigners, and Inhabitants of Countries far remote from *Judea*, who were sick and troubled with all sorts of Pains, hoping to be recovered. Therefore King *Abgarus*, the then worthy Governor of the Nations lying beyond *Euphrates*, being much weakened with a sore Disease, incurable by humane Skill, as soon as he heard of the great Name of Jesus, and of his wonderful Works attested by all, sent a Letter to him by a Letter-Carrier, humbly beseeching him to vouchsafe to cure his Distemper. Now though he did not then hearken to his request, yet he vouchsafed to give him answer by his own Letter, wherein he promised to send one of his Disciples, who should both cure him, and also bring Salvation to him, and his Relations

ons and Friends. Soon after therefore this Promise was exactly fulfilled. For after his Resurrection from the dead, and Ascension into Heaven, *Thomas*, one of the twelve Apostles, moved thereto by Divine Impulse, sent *Thaddæus*, chosen one of the Seventy Disciples of Christ, to *Edeffa*, to be a Preacher and Evangelist of the Doctrine of Christ. By whom all that which our Saviour had promised, was fulfilled. The written Evidence of this Matter we have taken out of the Office of Records within the princely City of *Edeffa*, in which *Abgarus* then was Governor. For among the publick Records there, wherein the Antiquities of the City, and the Acts of *Abgarus* are contained, are found these things, there preserved to our Days. Nothing hinders but that we may hear the very Words of the Letter, which we have taken out of the antient Rolls, and faithfully translated out of the Syriack Tongue in these Words, thus:

A Copy of a Letter written by King Abgarus to Jesus, and sent to him to Jerusalem by Ananias the Courier.

“ **A** *Bgarus* Prince of *Edeffa*, to Jesus the good Saviour, who
 “ hath manifested himself within the Confines of *Jerusalem*,
 “ sendeth greeting. I have heard of thee, and of the Cures
 “ wrought by thee without Herbs or Medicines, for, as it is repor-
 “ ted, thou dost restore Sight to the Blind, thou makest the Lame
 “ to walk, thou cleansest the Leprous, and thou dost cast out De-
 “ vils and unclean Spirits, and thou healest those that are tormen-
 “ ted with Diseases of a long Continuance, and thou dost raise the
 “ dead. When I heard all this of thee, I was fully perswaded to
 “ believe one of these two things, either that thou art very God,
 “ and art come down from Heaven to do such things, or else the
 “ Son of God, and so performest them. Wherefore, I have now
 “ written to thee, beseeching thee to come to me, and cure my
 “ Disease. For, I have heard that the *Jews* murmur against thee,
 “ and contrive to do thee Mischief. I have a City, a little one
 “ indeed, but it is beautiful, and capable of receiving us both.
 Thus wrote *Abgarus*, as then but a little enlightened from above. It is also worth while to hear the Answer of Jesus returned to him by the same Courier; short indeed it is, but it has much of Power and Efficacy in it; it was thus:

The Answer of Jesus to Abgarus the King, sent by Ananias the Courier.

“ **B**lessed art thou, *Abgarus*, who hast believed in me whom
 “ thou hast not seen. For it is written of me, that they which
 “ have

" have seen me should not believe in me, that so they which have
 " not seen me may believe and be saved. But as concerning what
 " thou writest about my coming to thee, *Know*, that all things for
 " which I am sent must be here by me fulfilled; which being finish-
 " ed, I shall be taken up and return to him that sent me. But af-
 " ter I am ascended, I will send thee one of my Disciples, who
 " shall cure thy Distemper, and give Life to thee, and to them
 " that are with thee. To this Letter there is this farther added
 " in the *Syriack* Language; " After Jesus was ascended, *Judas*, cal-
 " led also *Thomas*, sent *Thaddæus* the Apostle, who was one of the
 " Seventy Disciples, to *Abgarus*. When he was come thither, he
 " abode with *Tobias* the Son of *Tobias*. As soon as it was heard
 " that he was come, having manifested himself by the Miracles he
 " wrought; *Abgarus* was told, that the Apostle of Jesus was come
 " thither, according to his Promise in his Letter. Now *Thaddæus*
 " began to cure every Disease and Distemper by the Power of God,
 " to the wonder of all. When *Abgarus* heard of the great and
 " wonderful Works wrought by him, and how in the Name and
 " by the Power of Jesus Christ he cured Diseases, he had some
 " suspicion that this was the Person about whom Jesus wrote to
 " him, saying, When I am taken up, I will send thee one of my
 " Disciples, who shall heal thy Distemper. Having therefore cal-
 " led for *Tobias*, with whom *Thaddæus* abode, *I have heard, said*
 " *he*, that there is a certain powerful Man come from *Jerusalem*,
 " who lodges at thy House, that performs many Cures in the Name
 " of Jesus. There is a Stranger, Sir, *replied he*, come to my House
 " who does many Miracles: Bring him, said *Abgarus*, to me. *To-*
 " *bias* went home to *Thaddæus* and told him, *Abgarus* the Gover-
 " nor of this City having sent for me, commands me to bring thee
 " to him, that thou mayest cure his Distemper. I will go, *replied*
 " *Thaddæus*, for it is chiefly upon his account that I am with Power
 " sent hither. *Tobias* therefore getting up early next Morning,
 " took *Thaddæus* along with him, and went to *Abgarus*. When he
 " was come to *Abgarus*, (his Nobles being present and standing
 " round him) there appeared a wonderful light in the Face of the
 " Apostle *Thaddæus*, as he came in to him, and therefore he wor-
 " shipped him. All that were present wonder'd at that, for they
 " saw nothing of that light which appeared only to *Abgarus*. Then
 " he asked *Thaddæus*, Art thou, in truth a Disciple of Jesus the Son
 " of God, who wrote thus to me, I will send thee one of my Dis-
 " ciples, who shall cure thy Distemper and give Life to thee, and
 " to all with thee? *Thaddæus* answered, For as much as thou hast
 " firmly believed in the Lord Jesus who sent me, therefore am I
 " sent to thee, and if thy Faith in him does still encrease, accor-
 " ding to thy Belief thou shalt have the Desires of thine Heart ful-
 " filled. *Abgarus* made him answer, I did so firmly believe in him,
 " that I would have raised Forces to have destroyed the *Jews* who
 " crucified

“ crucified him, had I not been inhibited from that purpose by
 “ the Roman Empire. Jesus Christ, replied *Thaddæus*, our Lord
 “ God fulfilled the will of his Father, and having finished that,
 “ was taken up to his Father. *Abgarus* said unto him, I believed
 “ both in Him and in his Father. Therefore, said *Thaddæus*, I lay
 “ my Hand on thee, in the Name of the same Lord Jesus Christ :
 “ And having done so, he was presently cured of the Disease and
 “ Distemper that he had. *Abgarus* wonder’d greatly when he saw
 “ that really accomplished, which he had heard concerning Jesus,
 “ by his Disciple and Apostle *Thaddæus*, who without the help of
 “ Herbs or Medicines, restored him to his former soundness. And
 “ not only him, but one *Abdus* also the Son of *Abdus* who had the
 “ Gout; he coming and falling down at *Thaddæus*’s Feet, received
 “ a Blessing by Prayer, and the laying on of his Hands, and was
 “ healed. Many others also of the same City with them were cur’d
 “ by the Apostle, who wrought wonderful Miracles and preached
 “ the Word of God. After all this, *Abgarus* spake thus, We be-
 “ lieve, *Thaddæus*, whatever thou dost, thou performest by the
 “ Power of God, and therefore we greatly admire thee. But, We
 “ pray thee moreover, give us some farther account of the Advent
 “ of Jesus, How and after what manner it was; of his Power also,
 “ and by what virtue he wrought those mighty Works we have
 “ heard. I shall now be silent, said *Thaddæus*, because I am sent
 “ to publish the Word of God: But assemble all the Men of thy
 “ City together to me to Morrow, and I will preach the Word of
 “ God to them, and will disperse the Word of Life among them,
 “ and expound the Advent of Jesus, after what manner it was, his
 “ Commission, and for what reason his Father sent him; the
 “ Power of his Works, the Mysteries he declared to the World,
 “ by what Power he wrought so great Miracles, his new Preaching,
 “ the slender and mean Reputation he made himself of, the Despi-
 “ cableness of his outward Man, how he humbled himself even
 “ unto Death, how he lessened his Divinity, how many and great
 “ things he suffered of the *Jews*, how he was Crucified, how he
 “ descended into Hell, and rent asunder that Inclosure never be-
 “ fore severed; how he rose again, and together with himself,
 “ raised those from the dead who had lain buried many Ages;
 “ how he descended from Heaven alone, but ascended to his Fa-
 “ ther accompanied with a great Multitude, how with Glory he is
 “ set down at the Right Hand of God his Father in Heaven, and
 “ how he will come again with Power and Glory to judge both
 “ quick and dead. *Abgarus* therefore commanded the Men of his
 “ City to come together very early and hear *Thaddæus* preach.
 “ After this he commanded that Gold and Silver should be given
 “ to *Thaddæus*: But he refused it, saying, How shall we, who have
 “ left all that was our own, take any thing that is anothers? These
 “ things were done in the Three hundredth and fortieth Year. All
 this

this being translated word for word out of the *Syriack* Tongue, and not unprofitable to be read, we have thought good to set down opportunely in this Place.

The Reasons why I insert this Account, and incline to believe it to be true, are these:

1. The *Stile* in general is certainly most primitive, and exactly agreeable to that of the first and beginning of the second Century, before Philosophy came into the Church.

2. The same is true in particular of the Christian Doctrines and Language therein contain'd: Which are so exactly agreeable to the like original Doctrines and Language of the Church, as is a strong Argument for their being genuine.

3. *Abgarus's* Letter or Desire of Healing is so agreeable with the sacred Account of our Lord's Miracles being soon famous through all *Syria* (a), in which *Edeffa* was situate, as gives us sufficient Foundation to expect such a Letter in such a Case from thence. Nor do I see any tolerable Objections arising from the Contents of the Letter it self to induce any impartial Persons to suspect it as an Imposture.

4. Our Saviour's Reply is so right, and so agreeable with his State and Dispensation as sent himself only to the *Jews*, but intending to send others to the *Gentiles* afterwards, that there is not only no Marks of Spuriousness, but great Signs of Genuineness in its whole Contexture.

5. The Evidence for all is so firm and positive, I mean the publick and authentick Records of the City of *Edeffa* it self, whereto it belonged, and whence *Eusebius* had the intire Account, that I see no reason for its rejection, or indeed for any proper suspicion concerning it.

6. And that this City was fully satisfied in the Truth of all is undeniable; because not very long after our *Eusebius's* History *Ephrem* the Deacon of that Church confirms it; nay sets down almost the intire Letter of our Saviour to *Abgarus*, in Agreement with *Eusebius*; and because from thence a Tradition prevail'd therein that this City, which was alone possess'd of an original Epistle of our Saviour's own writing, could never be taken by any Enemy whomsoever. Which Notion, how foolish and superstitious soever, is an evident Demonstration of the firm Belief of this Matter among them.

7. What I look upon as the strongest Attestation to the Truth of this whole History is that Citation of, or Allusion to a famous Passage here which we meet with in the larger or genuine Epistles of *Ignatius*, who was Patriarch of this very Country of *Syria*, wherein *Edeffa* was, and who is therefore the most authentick, and indeed the only Apostolick Writer now extant, from whom we could just-

(a) *Mat.* IV. 24.

ly expect such an Attestation. *Thaddæus's* Words are these, *He descended into the invisible World, and rent that Pale which had not been broken through from the beginning of the World.*—*He descended alone, but ascended to his Father with a great Multitude.* Those of *Ignatius* are these, *He descended indeed into the invisible World alone, but ascended with a Multitude; and rent that Pale which had been from the beginning of the World, and took away its Partition Wall (a),* which are too exactly the same with the former to have the Quotation or Allusion doubted of in this Case.

As to the Chronology, and the Year when this History is said to have happen'd, the Numbers are so different in the several MSS. and such Dates are so commonly later Additions only, that no great Objection can be form'd against the History it self from the Difficulties hereto relating. And as to the other Objections so commonly pretended here also, they seem to me to be very weak and injudicious; and in *Dr. Cave's* Words, I think there is *scarce any wise Argument against this History (b).*

Caius's Account of the Heresy of Artemon in the beginning of the third Century, as extant in Eusebius's Hist. Eccl. l. V. c. 28.

IN an elaborate Piece of one of those Authors, compos'd against the Heresie of *Artemon*, (which Heresy *Paulus Samosatensis* has again attempted to revive in our Age,) there is extant a certain Relation very accommodate to the History we now have in hand. For the Book now cited, evincing that the aforesaid Heresy, which asserts our Saviour to be a meer Man, was an Innovation of a late Date; (because the Introducers of it had boasted it was very ancient,) after many [Arguments] brought to confute their blasphemous Lye, has this Relation word for word; “ For they affirm
“ that all the Ancients and the very Apostles received and taught
“ the same things which they now assert; and that the preaching
“ of the Truth was preserved till the Times of *Victor*, who from
“ *Peter* was the thirteenth Bishop of *Rome*; but from the Times of
“ his Successor *Zephyrinus* the Truth has been adulterated. Perad-
“ venture this Saying of theirs might seem probable, did not in
“ the first Place the sacred Scriptures contradict them, and then
“ the Writings of some Brethren ancienter than the Times of *Vi-*
“ *tor*; which Books they wrote in defence of the Truth, against

(a) *Ad Trall. § 9.* (b) *Apostolici Introduc. p. 4.*

“ the *Gentiles*, and against the Heresies of their own Times I mean
 “ the [Writings of] *Justin, Miltiades, Tatianus* and *Clemens*, and of
 “ many others: in all which Books the Divinity of Christ is main-
 “ tain’d. For who is he that is ignorant of the Books of *Irenaus*,
 “ *Melito*, and the rest, which declare Christ to be God and Man? The
 “ Psalms also and Hymns of the Brethren, written at the beginning
 “ by the faithful, do set forth the Praises of Christ the Word of
 “ God, and attribute Divinity to him. Seeing therefore this Eccle-
 “ siastical Opinion has been manifestly declared for so many Years
 “ since, how can it be that the [Ancients] should have preach’d
 “ that Doctrine, which these Men assert, until the Times of *Viſtor*?
 “ How can they chuse but be ashamed of framing such Lyes of *Vi-*
 “ *ſtor*; when as they know for certain that *Viſtor* excommunicated
 “ *Theodotus* the *Tanner*, the Founder and Father of this Apostacy
 “ which denies God, who first asserted Christ to be a meer Man?
 “ For if *Viſtor* were (as they say) of the same Opinion with that
 “ which their Blasphemy does maintain, why did he proscribe
 “ *Theodotus* the Inventor of this Heresy? And such was the face
 “ of Affairs in the Times of *Viſtor*.

*The History of Beryllus's Heresy, and his Conviction
 by Origen, as extant in Eusebius's Hist. Eccles.
 l. VI. c. 33.*

Beryllus, who was mentioned a little before, Bishop of *Bosra*
 in *Arabia*, subverting the Ecclesiastick Canon, endeavour'd to
 induce some new Doctrines alien from the Faith; daring to af-
 firm that our Lord and Saviour, before his coming amongst Men had no
 proper different Subsistence: Neither any Godhead of his own, but only
 the Deity of the Father residing in him. Many Disputes and Confe-
 rences having been held by the Bishops against this Man about that
 Point: amongst the rest *Origen* was call'd; at first he enters into a
 friendly Discourse with the Man, that he might discover what his
 Opinion was; which when he understood by his Discourse, he repre-
 hended him as being not Orthodox; and having convinc'd him by
 Arguments and Demonstrations, he took him as it were by the
 Hand, and set him into the way of the true Doctrine, and reinstated
 him in his former sound Opinion. There are also written Monu-
 ments extant to this day both of *Beryllus*, and also of the Synod
 which was convened upon his account, which contain *Origen's* Que-
 stions proposed against him, and the Disputes holden in his Church,
 and all that was dōpe at that time.

N. B. We learn from these two Histories, that in the beginning of the third Century both the *Ebionite* or *Socinian* Doctrine, and that Hypothesis which supposes the Divinity of the Son not to be his own proper Divinity, but meerly the Divinity of the Father *inhabiting* in him, were own'd as strange Notions in general, and as plainly heretical, by the Judgment of the Church.

A Copy of an Epistle sent to Paul of Samosata by the Orthodox Bishops [of the Council of Antioch, about A. D. 270.] before he was depos'd (a).

Hymenæus, Theophilus, Theotecnus, Maximus, Proclus, and Bolanus *send Salutation to Paul in Christ.*

WE have indeed already declared our Faith, when we had Conferences one among another. But that every ones Sentiments may be made more manifest, and the Matters in Debate may come to a more certain Conclusion, it seemed good to us to publish that account of our Faith in Writing, which we have received from the beginning, and which we have among us deliver'd down and preserv'd in the Catholick and Holy Church unto this Day, in way of Succession, by the blessed Apostles, who were themselves *Eye-Witnesses, and Ministers of the Word (b)*, as it is declar'd out of the Law, and the Prophets, and the New Testament: That there is One Unbegotten God, without beginning, invisible, and unchangeable; *whom no Man hath seen, nor can see (c)*: whose Glory or Greatness humane Nature is not capable to understand or declare, as it is, and worthy of the Truth; yet is it agreeable thereto that we may have some imperfect Notion about him, by the Revelation of his Son; according as he says, *No one knoweth the Father but the Son, and he to whom the Son will reveal him (d)*. Now we do own, and profess, and preach this Son to be Begotten, the Only-begotten Son, who is the *Image of the invisible God, the first born of every Creature (e)*, the Wisdom, and Word, and Power of God *(f)*; who existed before the World began; being not by Pre-science, but essentially and substantially God; the Son of God, both in the Old and New Testament. But if any one opposes this, and says the Son was not God before the Foundation of the World;

(a) *Bibl. Patr.* Tom. XI. p. 302.—305, (b) *Luke* I. 2. (c) *1 Tim.* VI. 6, (d) *Mat.* XI. 27. (e) *Colos.* I. 15. (f) *1 Cor.* I. 24.

affirming that he believes and professes that there are two Gods declar'd, in case the Son of God be preached as God, we esteem him to be alien from the Ecclesiastical Rule [of Faith,] and all the Catholick Churches agree with us herein. For of him it is written, *Thy Throne, O God, is for ever and ever : A Scepter of Righteousness is the Scepter of thy Kingdom. Thou hast loved righteousness, and hated Iniquity : Wherefore God, thy God hath anointed thee with the Oil of Gladness above thy Fellows (a).* And again, *Esaïas says, Our God repays Judgment, and will repay it. Himself will come and save us. Then shall the Eyes of the blind be opened ; and the Ears of the Deaf shall hear : Then shall the lame leap as a Stag, and the Tongue of the Stammerers shall speak plainly (b).* In [or by] thee shall they pray, because God is in thee, and there is no God besides thee. For thou art God, and we knew it not ; the God of Israel our Saviour (c). And so it is in the Apostle, *Of whom was Christ according to the Flesh : Who is God over all, blessed for ever. Amen. (d).* Those Expressions, *Who is over all ; and besides thee,* being to be understood of all begotten Beings. And in *Hosea, For I am God, and not an Holy Man in thee ; and I will not enter into the City ; I will walk after the Lord (e).* And indeed all the divinely inspired Writings declare the Son of God to be God : Which we omit putting down distinctly at present. We believe that this Son was always with his Father, and fulfilled his Fathers Will in the Creation of the Universe. For, *He spake and they were made ; he commanded and they were created (f).* Now he that commands, commands one different from himself ; who, as we are fully persuaded, was no other than God, the Only-begotten Son of God ; to whom he said, *Let us make Man after our Image, and after our Likeness (g).* And, to be brief, as it is in the Gospel, *All things were made by him, and without him was not any thing made (h).* And according to the Apostle, *In [or by] him were all things created, whether they be things in Heaven, or things on Earth ; whether they be visible, or invisible ; whether they be Thrones, or Principalities, or Powers ; all things were created by him, and for him (i).* So that we think of him as of one really existing, and operating ; as both the Word and God, by whom the Father made all things, not as by a bare Instrument, nor as by any Faculty that has no distinct Existence, but that the Father begat the Son, as a living and subsisting Power, that works all things in all Creatures : and we think of him as of that Son that not only saw, and was present at, but that acted in the Creation of the Universe ; as it is written, *I was with him sitting things together (k).* He it is whom we affirm to have come down [from Heaven,] and been seen by Abraham at the

(a) *Psal. XLV. 6, 7. Heb. I. 8, 9.* (b) *Isa. XXXV. 4, 5, 6.*
 (c) *XLV. 14, 15.* (d) *Rom. IX. 5.* (e) *Hos. XI. 9, 10.* (f) *Psal.*
CXLVIII. 5. (g) *Gen. I. 26.* (h) *John I. 3.* (i) *Coloss. I. 16.*
 (k) *Prov. VIII. 30.*

Oak of Mamre (a), as one of those three with whom the Patriarch discoursed, as with his Lord and Judge, and as one that had received all Judgment from the Father (b): Of whom it is written, *The Lord rained upon Sodom and Gomorrah Fire and Brimstone from the Lord out of Heaven* (c): who was he that fulfilled his Father's Will in appearing to the Patriarchs, and discoursing with them in the same Passages, and in the same Chapters, and is attested to sometimes as an Angel, sometimes as Lord, and sometimes as God. For 'tis impious to suppose that the God of the Universe was called an Angel. But the Angel [or Messenger] of the Father is the Son, being himself both Lord and God. For 'tis written, *He is the Angel of his great Council* (d); as he is elsewhere sent to Abraham, and others afterwards. For now I know that thou fearest God, and hast not spared thy Son, thy beloved Son on my Account. And he called the Name of the Place, *The Lord hath seen; that it may be said, the Lord was seen this Day in the Mount* (e). And of Jacob 'tis said, *The Angel of God said to me in a Dream, Jacob: And I said, what is it? and he said, look about with thine Eyes, &c. I am God who appeared to thee in the Place of God, when thou didst anoint a Pillar to me, and didst vow a Vow unto me there* (f). And after his wrestling with a Man had been describ'd before, 'tis added, *And Jacob call'd the Name of that Place, The Appearance of God: For I have seen God face to face, and my Soul is preserved* (g). Now we affirm that this Man, as he was before described, was the Son of God; whom the Scripture it self declares to be God. Nay farther, we affirm that the Law was given to Moses by the Ministration of the Son of God; as the Apostle teaches us, when he says, *To what then serveth the Law? It was added because of Transgressions, till the Seed should come, to whom the Promise was made; being ordained by Angels in [or through] the Hands of a Mediator* (h). For we know of no other Mediator between God and Men (i), but this Person. And we are taught the same things by Moses. *An Angel appeared to him in a Flame of Fire out of the Bush, &c. Now when the Lord saw that he persisted to look, the Lord called to him out of the Bush* (k). And again, *Go in and gather together the Elders of the Children of Israel; and thou shalt say unto them, The Lord God of our Fathers hath appeared to me, the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, &c.* (l). *If therefore they will not believe me, nor hearken unto my Voice; (for they will say the Lord God hath not appeared unto thee:) what shall I say unto them* (m)? And among the Blessings, *Let them come upon*

(a) Gen. XVIII. 1, &c. (b) John V. 22, 27. (c) Gen. XIX. 24. (d) Isa. IX. 6. (e) Gen. XXII. 12, 14. (f) XXXI. 11, 13. (g) XXXII. 30. (h) Gal. III. 19. (i) 1 Tim. II. 5. (k) Exod. III. 2, 4. (l) v. 16. (m) IV. 1.

the Head of Jacob, according to the Statutes that belong to him that appeared in the Bush (a). And elsewhere, And the Lord said unto Moses, and I will do this thing which thou hast spoken: And he said shew me thy Glory: And he said, I will pass by before thee in my Glory, and I will proclaim the Name of the Lord before thee: And I will have Mercy on whom I will have Mercy: And I will have Compassion on whom I will have Compassion (b). Which was thus fulfilled; And the Lord descended in a Cloud, and stood before him there, and proclaimed the Name of the Lord: And the Lord passed by before his Face, and proclaimed the Lord God (c). For that Son of God who was the Lord, and who promised above to pass by, proclaimed the Name of the Lord his Father. This is he that said truly, Not that any one has seen the Father, save he that is of the Father, he hath seen the Father (d). And in the same Gospel; Ye have neither heard his Voice at any time, nor seen his Shape (e). And, No one hath seen God at any time: the Only-begotten Son, who is in the Bosom of the Father, he hath declared him (f). And, says the Apostle in another Place, To the King of the Ages, incorruptible, invisible, the Only wise God (g). While the Son is spoken of as always with the Father, and as the God and Lord of all begotten Beings; but still as one sent by the Father from Heaven, and become Man, by being incarnate. Wherefore that Body which was of the Virgin, and contain'd the *intire fulness of the Divinity bodily* (h), is unalterably united to the Divinity, and is thereby deify'd. On which account this same God and Man Jesus Christ was prophesied of by the Law, and the Prophets, and is believed to be God by the whole Church under Heaven; and as such to have emptied himself of his Likeness [or Equality] to God (i): While as Man, He was of the seed of David according to the Flesh (k). As God he wrought those Signs and Wonders which are written in the Gospels; and as Man He himself was Partaker of Flesh and Blood, and was tempted in all things like unto us, yet without Sin (l). Accordingly he, as one Person, is named Christ before his Incarnation in the Divine Scriptures. In Jeremiah, for instance, Christ is the Spirit of our Face (m). Now according to the Apostle, The Lord is the Spirit (n); and according to the same Apostle; For they drank of the Spiritual Rock, and that Rock was Christ (o). And again, Neither let us tempt the Lord, as some of them tempted him, and were destroyed of Serpents (p). And with relation to Moses, Esteeming the reproach of Christ greater Riches than the Treasures of Ægypt (q). And Peter says, Concerning which Sal-

(a) Deut. XXXIII. 16. (b) Exod. XXXIII. 17, &c. (c) XXXIV. 5, &c. (d) John VI. 46. (e) V. 37. (f) I. 18. (g) 1 Tim. I. 17. (h) Coloss. II. 9. (i) Philip. II. 6, 7. (k) Rom. I. 3. (l) Heb. II. 14. (m) Lament. IV. 20. (n) 2 Cor. III. 17. (o) 1 Cor. X. 4. (p) vers. 9. (q) Heb. XI. 26.

vation the Prophets have sought out, and searched diligently, who prophesied of the Grace which is given to us. Searching for what or what manner of Season the Spirit of Christ which was in them did signify (a). Now if Christ be the Power of God, and the Wisdom of God (b), he existed before the World began: And as he is Christ he is one and the same Person in his Essence, altho' he be mentioned under very many Denominations. Since therefore we have chosen a few Passages out of a great Number, we would know whether you think and preach the same Doctrines with us; and desire that you would signify to us whether you agree to the Doctrines above set down or not.

N. B. The Doctrine, and Language, and Expositions of Scripture in this most remarkable Epistle are so agreeable to those of the earliest times of the Gospel, of the Apostolical Constitutions, and *Ignatius* in his larger Epistles, and to the other old Christian Records; and all this attested to as derived down by constant Succession in the Church from the Apostles themselves, and their Companions, that it highly deserves the Consideration of every Christian. And all is here so intirely different from the Notions and Language which *Athanasius* puts into the Mouth of *Dionysius* of *Alexandria* in his Letters to his Namesake of *Rome*, who was Contemporary with this Council, and went heartily into their Measures, that it affords us a strong Argument against the Genuineness of the Citations produced by him.

(a) 1 Pet. I. 10, 11. (b) 1 Cor. I. 24.

PASSAGES

P A S S A G E S
O U T O F
Athanasius's First Treatise
A G A I N S T T H E
G E N T I L E S.

(a) **I**F they had had a due Regard to the Divinity of Christ; they would not have ridicul'd a Matter of that Consequence; but would rather have themselves owned him as the Saviour of the Universe, &c.—Christ alone is adored, and by him the Father is known.

(b) Why do not they rather acknowledge him that ascended on the Cross, to be the Word of God, and the Saviour of the Universe?

(c) 'Tis necessary to allow, that the Leader and Author of so great and worthy a Deed must be God, and the Word of God.

(d) For the Creator of the Universe, and the Supreme God, who is King of the World, who is quite advanc'd *above all Substance*, and humane Comprehension, and who is good and excellent, made Mankind, according to his own Image, by his Word, our Saviour Jesus Christ.

(e) He always contemplates by his own Purity the Father's Image, God the Word; after whose Image he was made.

(f) By seeing the Word he sees also in him the Father of the Word also.

(g) The Hereticks deserting the *Ecclesiastical Doctrine*, frame to themselves another God besides him that is the *True God*, the Father of Christ, &c. Now our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ in his Gospels says, in Confirmation of the Words of *Moses*, *The Lord is one God; and I thank thee, O Father, Lord of Heaven and Earth.* Now if there be but *One God*, and he is Lord of Heaven and Earth,

18 *A Collection of Ancient Monuments.*

how can there be any other God besides him? and where will that other God be according to them? while the *Only* and the *True God* fills all the Capacity of Heaven and Earth: And how can there be another *Maker* of those things of whom the God and Father of Christ is *Lord*, according to our Saviour's Words?

(a) Rejecting the *True God*, and him who really exists, the Father of Christ.

(b) Having deserted the Regard due to the *One God*,—and rejected him that is truly the Word of the Father, Christ the Saviour of the World, &c.

* Nor had they then denied the *True God*, the Father of Christ.

(c) The Creation does as it were loudly cry out against them, and demonstrate that God who was its Maker and Creator, and who rules over it, and over the Universe, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.

(d) The Order of Things does declare and point out him who is their Lord and Maker, the Father of the Word.

(e) This draws them from the Knowledge which belongs to the *One and Only True God*, I mean the Father of Christ.

(f) We shall be able to contemplate and understand the saving Word of the Father, the King of the Universe.

(g) On Account of that God who made him thus, by his own Word, our Lord Jesus Christ.

(h) That so in the Soul they may be able to contemplate the Word of the Father; according to which they were made in the Beginning. For he was made according to the Image of God, and according to his Likeness; as the Divine Scripture declares, when it speaks in the Person of God, *Let us make Man after our Image and Likeness*.—He sees as in a Mirrour, the Word, the Image of the Father; and in him discovers the Father, whose Image the Saviour is.

(i) It must needs be, that by the Order and Harmony of the Universe, we discover *God* the Governor of the Universe, and that he is but *One*, and not many. The same Order of the Constitution of the World, and the agreeing Harmony of all things demonstrates that there is but *One Word*, who is the Ruler and Governor thereof.

(k) 'Tis absolutely necessary that we own that Religion for true which obtains among us; and that he who is adored and preached by us is *alone the True God*, the Lord of the Creation, and of every subsisting Being. Now who is this, but he that is most Holy, and quite *above every begotten Nature*, the Father of Christ; who as a most excellent Governor governs and disposes all things every where in the best Manner, by his own Word, our Lord Jesus Christ.—I mean the living and powerful and real God the

(a) § 9. p. 9. (b) § 23. p. 23. * § 26. p. 25. (c) § 27. p. 25. (d) § 27. p. 26. (e) § 29. p. 28. (f) § 30. p. 29. (g) § 33. p. 32. (h) § 34. p. 33. (i) § 38. p. 37. (k) § 40. p. 39. Word

Word, derived from the good God, who is the God of the Universe, who is different from all the made Beings, and from the whole Creation; but is the proper and only Word of the good Father; and has disposed the Parts of the Universe, and enlightens it by his Providence. For he being the good Word of the good Father, has himself disposed the Parts of this intire Constitution, making Contraries agree with Contraries, and so procuring one Harmony out of them all. This is he who is *the Power of God, and the Wisdom of God.*—

(a) Being the Word he is not after the Likeness of Men, compounded of Syllables, but is the unchangeable Image of his own Father. Men indeed are compounded of Parts, and are made out of nothing, and so have their own Word compounded and dissolved: But God is *Being*, and not compounded. Wherefore his Word is *Being*, and not compounded; but he is *One*, and is the *Only Begotten God*; who proceeding as a good Being from the Father, as from a good Fountain, orders and contains all things.

(b) He, as a good Being, governs and orders the Universe by his own Word, which it self is God also, &c. — He made all things by his own, even the *Eternal Word*, &c.

(c) He remaining immoveable with the Father, moves all things by his Appointment, according to the Good-pleasure of his Father. But what is the most strange Instance of his Divine Power is this; that by one and the same Command, without any Interval, he acts upon and governs all things, &c.

(d) Himself is become the Governor, and King, and Subsistence of all things; working them all to the Glory and Acknowledgement of his Father,

(e) For as we cannot, when we look up to Heaven and see its Beauty, and the Light of the Stars, but reflect on the Word who orders them; so can we not, when we consider the Word of God, but reflect on God, who is his Father. From whom when he proceeds he is justly styled his Father's Interpreter and Messenger, &c.

(f) He is the good Product of a good Being; and the True Son; and is therefore the Power, and Wisdom, and Word of the Father; and is not such by Participation; nor are those Qualities external or adventitious to him; as in the Case of those that are Partakers of him, and are instructed by him, and become powerful and rational through him; but he is peculiarly the real Wisdom, the real Word, the real Power of the Father, the real Light, the real Truth, the real Righteousness, the real Virtue, nay the Character, the Efflux, the Image, and, in short, he is the most perfect Offspring of the Father; is the only Son, the most exact Image of the Father, &c. So that 'tis necessary the Word be in him that begat him, and that he that is begotten continue for ever with the Father.

(a) § 41. p. 40. (b) *Ibid.* (c) § 42. p. 41. (d) § 44. p. 43.
(e) § 45. p. 43. (f) § 46, 47. p. 46.

Athanasius's Treatise
OF THE
INCARNATION of the *WORD*,
AND OF
His Bodily Appearance to Us.

I. **H**AVING in the foregoing Discourse selected a few things out of many concerning the Error of the *Gentiles* in the Worship of Idols, and the Superstitions thereto belonging; how such things were first invented; that Men devised for themselves the Worship of Idols out of their wicked Tempers; and having withal, by the Grace of God, declar'd a few things about the Divinity of the Father Word, and his Providence, and Power over all things; and that the good Father does by him adorn all things; and that all things are moved from him, and quickned by him; Let us now, my Dear Friend, and true Lover of Christ, add a Discourse concerning the Incarnation of the Word, to that Exposition of the Christian Faith; and let us explain this his Divine Appearance to us; which the *Jews* indeed reproach, and the *Greeks* laugh at, but which we adore: That so you may improve your self in Piety by the seemingly despicable State of the Word. For as much as he is laugh'd at by the Unbelievers, so much greater Testimony does he afford us of his Divinity; because what Men look upon to be impossible, that does he demonstrate to be possible; and what Men laugh at as unseemly, that does he shew to be seemly, by his Goodness; and what the Sophisters expose, that does he demonstrate to be Divine; by his own Power overturning the pompous Shew of Idols, through his apparent Meanness, by the Cross; but secretly persuading those Deriders and Unbelievers till they acknowledge his Divinity and Power. But now in order to your better

better understanding the present Discourse, you must call to mind what has been already said in the former, that you may be able to discover the Cause of this Manifestation of so great and eminent a Being as this Word of the Father is; “ and that you may not “ think that our Saviour carried a Body about him according to “ the settled Course of Nature, but that he who was by Nature “ incorporeal and the Word, was certainly manifested in a human “ Body to us, out of his Father’s Love to Mankind, and his Good- “ ness and Regard to our Salvation. Now it is but reasonable that when we are about a Discourse upon this Subject, to premise somewhat concerning the Creation of the Universe, and concerning God the Creator thereof; that every one may easily contemplate the Renovation of the Creation as done by the same Word that created it in the Beginning. For it will appear not at all strange if the Father created it by the same Person by whom he wrought its Salvation also.

2. Now as for the Creation of the World, and of all things, many have entertained very different Opinions about it; and every one has determined as he liked best. For some say that all things came fortuitously and by Accident, as the *Epicureans*; who make us believe that there is no Providence; while the manifest Appearances in the World, visible to the Eyes, do confute their Assertion. For if all things were made fortuitously, without a Providence, according to their Opinion, it ought to follow that all things are of one sort, simple, and all alike, and not different one from another: For all ought to be as one Body, the Sun, suppose, or the Moon: And among Men the whole ought to be an Hand, or an Eye, or a Foot. But now it is not so: For we see one Body is a Sun, another a Moon, another the Earth: And again in humane Bodies one Member is a Foot, another an Hand, another an Head. Now such a Constitution of things is an Indication that they were not made fortuitously, but that they had a prior Cause; from whence we may learn the Being of a God, who constituted and made them all. But others, and among them *Plato*, who was esteem’d so great a Person among the *Greeks*, asserts, that God made the Universe of pre-existing Matter, that was not it self made; and that God cannot make any thing unless there be pre-existing Matter; just as it is necessary that Wood pre-exist before the Carpenter can work. Now those that say thus don’t consider that they hereby ascribe Imperfection to God. For if he be not himself the Cause of Matter, but only makes things from the Matter that is before him, he is thereby discovered to be imperfect, as unable to make any thing in the World without Matter: like as ’tis certainly an Indication of Imperfection in the Carpenter, that he is not able to make any of the things he wants without Wood. And on this Hypothesis ’tis plain God can make nothing at all, unless he has Matter to work upon: And how can he be said to be the Maker and Creator, if he

has that Ability of making things from somewhat else besides himself, I mean from Matter? Nor can it be denied, that if God alone operates with pre-existing Matter, but is not the Cause of that Matter, he acts the Part of an Artificer, not of a Creator, or of one that produces things into Being; and so certainly he ought not to be called *Creator*, unless he *Creates* that Matter out of which the things created are made. But now, as to the Hereticks, they frame to themselves another Creator of all things, besides him that is the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, being greatly blinded as to what they utter upon this Subject. For when our Lord said to the *Jews*, *Have ye not read that in the beginning he that created them made them Male, and Female, and said, for this Cause shall a Man leave his Father and Mother, and shall cleave to his Wife; and they twain shall be one Flesh?* and then describ'd him that created them, *What therefore God hath joined together, let not Man put asunder* (a). How then can these Men introduce a Creation wherein the Father is unconcern'd? Now if this be according to *John*, who includes all at once, and says, *All things were made by him; and without him was not any thing made* (b), how can there be any other Creator besides the Father of Christ?

3. These Men therefore do but tell us Fables. But the Divine Doctrine and the Christian Faith rejects the vain Talk of these Men as Atheistical, and owns that all things did not come into Being spontaneously, but that God brought them into Being; since they came not without a Providence; nor from pre-existent Matter, seeing God is not imperfect, but out of nothing, and when they did not before exist, by his Word; as he said by *Moses* formerly, *In the Beginning God made the Heaven and the Earth* (c); and by that most useful Book the Pastor, *First of all believe that there is one God, who created all things, and framed them, and made them; so that what did not before exist, came into Being* (d). Which also is the Meaning of *Paul*, when he says, *By Faith we understand that the Worlds were framed by the Word of God so that things that are seen were not made of things that do appear* (e); For God is good, or rather he is the Fountain of Goodness. Now there can be no Envy in a good Being, upon any Occasion: whence he envied nothing its Existence, and made all things out of nothing, by his own Word, our Lord Jesus Christ: Among which he had Compassion upon Mankind, above all the other Creatures on the Earth; and considering that he was not capable of continuing for ever by the Nature of his own Constitution, he thereupon bestowed a peculiar Favour upon him; he created Men not barely as he did the other irrational Creatures, but *made them after his own Image*,

(a) *Mat. XIX. 4.* (b) *John I. 3.* (c) *Gen. I. 1.* (d) *L. II. Mand. 1.* (e) *Heb. XI. 3.*

bestowing upon them some Part of the Power of his own Word: That having some imperfect Shadows of Reason [or the Word,] and being made *Rational*, they might be able to continue in their blessed Condition, and might live the true and real Life of the Saints in Paradise. Yet knowing withal the Freedom of Man's Will, capable of choosing Good or Evil, he prevented him, and secured the Grace given him by the Assistance of a Law, and of the Place. For when he had introduc'd them into his Paradise, he gave them a Law; that in Case they preserved the Grace bestow'd upon them, and persisted in Goodness, they might enjoy a Life in Paradise, without Trouble, Sorrow, or Care; besides their having the Promise that they should enjoy an immortal Life in the Heavens; but that in Case they transgressed, and were perverted to Wickedness, they might know that they were to undergo that State of Corruption and Mortality which was naturally due to them; and should no longer live in Paradise, but be thence excluded, and die, and continue in that State of Death and Corruption. And this is what the divine Scripture declar'd before-hand, when it said, in the Person of God, *Of every Tree that is in Paradise thou mayst freely eat; but of the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil ye shall not eat thereof; for in the Day ye eat thereof ye shall surely die (a).* Now by dying here what else can be meant but that they not only should die, but that they should continue in the State of Death and Corruption.

4. Perhaps you wonder how it comes to pass that when we proposed to speak of the Incarnation of the Word, we do now discourse of the Origin of Man. But even this is not remote from the Scope of that Discourse. For we were obliged when we were to speak of the Appearance of our Saviour, to speak also of the Origin of Man, that you might understand that our Case was the Occasion of his Descent, and that our Transgression called out the Love of the Word towards Mankind; and that so far, that the Lord came to us, and appeared among Men. For we were the Occasion of his Incarnation; "and for our Salvation it was that his Love to Mankind shewed it self in his Entrance into, and Appearance in a humane Body. After this Manner therefore God made Man, and desired that he would continue in the State of Immortality. But Men despis'd and rejected the Regard which they ought to have had to God, and contriving and devising Mischief to themselves, as we have said in our former Discourse, they became obnoxious to Condemnation unto Death; and for the future did no longer continue as they were made at first, but were corrupted, and Death reigned, and had Dominion over them. For the Transgression of that Command re-

(a) Gen. II. 16.

duc'd them to that State they were in by Nature; that as when once they were nothing, they were afterward made, so they might after some time undergo that Corruption which would reduce them to nothing again; and this justly: For if when Men were once of such a Nature as to have been nothing, they were yet called into Being by the Appearance and Love of the Word, it is but a natural Consequence that after they are depriv'd of the Knowledge of God, and are turned to things that have no Being at all, (for Evil has no real Existence, but Good has; seeing 'tis deriv'd from that God who really exists;) they should be depriv'd of their eternal Duration also; which is the same thing with their Dissolution, and Continuance under Death and Corruption. For indeed Man is by Nature mortal, as being made out of nothing; but because of the Resemblance he bears to things that had a real Existence, which he preserv'd by his Regard to him, he might have broke the Force of his natural Corruption, and continued immortal; as *Wisdom* says, *The Observation of the Laws is the Confirmation of Immortality* (a). And being then immortal, he had lived afterward as a God; as the divine Scripture somewhere declares, when it says, *I said ye are Gods, and ye are all Children of the Most High: but ye die like Men, and fall as one of the Princes* (b).

5. For God did not only make us out of nothing, but freely gave us a divine Life, by the Favour of his Word: But Men rejecting things Eternal, and turning to things Corruptible, by the Counsel of the Devil, became the Authors of their own Corruption and Mortality: For, tho' they were before Mortal in their Nature, as we have already said, yet by the Grace of that Participation which they had of the Word, they had escaped what was their Lot by Nature, had they continued in Goodness. For that Mortality which was natural to them did not come near them, on account of the Presence of the Word with them; as *Wisdom* says, *God created Man for Immortality, and as an Image of his own Eternity; but thro' the Envy of the Devil Death entred into the World* (c). Hereupon Men died, and Mortality flourish'd against them; nay, it prevail'd so much more than in the State of Nature, over all the Race of Men, that it prevented the Divine Threatning, which was denounc'd against them upon their Transgression: For Men did not keep any certain Measure in their Offences, but growing worse and worse afterward to an intolerable Height, became from the beginning Inventers of Wickedness, and called down upon themselves Death and Corruption before the Time allotted thereto. Nay, at last they fell into a Course of Iniquity, and exceeded all ordinary Measures of transgressing: They did not stop at one evil Practtice, but contriving to heap Sin upon Sin, they became insatiable therein: For

(a) *Wisd.* VI. 19. (b) *Psal.* LXXXI. 6. (c) *Wisd.* II. 23.

there were Adulteries and Thefts every where, and the whole Earth was full of Murder and Rapin: Nor was there any regard had to the Law which concern'd Corruption and Injustice; and every single Instance of Wickedness was put in Practice universally by all. Cities warr'd against Cities, and Nations rose up against Nation; and the whole habitable World was torn in pieces by Seditious and Battles: Every one striving to out-do another in transgressing. Nor were those Sins that are against Nature avoided; but as that Martyr of Christ and Apostle said, *For their Women changed the natural Use into that which was against Nature. In like manner the Men, leaving the natural Use of the Woman, burned in their Lust one towards another; Men with Men working that which is unseemly, and receiving in themselves that Recompence of their Error which was meet (a).*

6. So that Mankind was corrupted on these Accounts, and Death more and more prevailed against Men. Man as he was rational and made after God's Image, was defaced, and the Workmanship of God was destroyed. For Death did from that Time, as I have already said, prevail against us by the Law; nor was it possible to avoid the *Law*, because it was appointed by God *for the sake of Transgression*; and Matters were really brought to an absurd and dishonourable State. For it was certainly absurd that God should lye in what he had said; which yet would have happen'd if when he had ordain'd that Man should *surely die*, if he transgress'd the Command, yet after that Transgression he did not die; and so his Declaration was disannull'd. For God had not then been true if after he had said we should die, Man had not died: Yet was it dishonourable on the other Hand that those rational Beings which were once made, and had partaken of his Word, should be destroy'd, and so return into Non existence again by Corruption. For it was not fit for the Goodness of God to permit Beings made by him to be destroy'd, by the Means of that Deception which was put upon Men by the Devil. Especially was it one of the unfittest things in the World that the Skill shewed by God in the Creation of Men should come to nothing, either on Account of their own Negligence, or on Account of the Deceit of Dæmons. Wherefore what was fit for a good God to do in the Case of the Destruction of rational Beings, and the Ruin of so great a Part of his Works? Was it fit for him to permit Destruction to prevail over them, and Death to bear Rule? If so, what Occasion was there that they should have been at first made? For it had been better they had never been at all, than that they should be made, and then have no Care taken about them, but be permitted to perish. For this want of Care in God would rather be an Instance of his Weakness than

(a) *Rom. I. 26, 27.*

of his Goodness, if when he had made any thing he had overlook'd his own Work, and suffered it to perish; and more so than if he had not made Man at first: For if he had not made any thing there would have been no one to impute Weakness to him; but when he had made things, and produc'd them into Being, it was highly absurd that his Work should perish; and especially in the Sight of him that made them. It was therefore fit not to leave Men to be carried away and destroy'd; seeing this Procedure must have been unreasonable and dishonourable, and a Reflection on the Divine Goodness.

7. But then as this was fit to be done, so did the opposite Part, which also was fit for God to do, contradict this; I mean that God's Veracity should appear in this Dispensation of Death. For it was absurd that God, the Father of Truth, should appear to be a Liar, for our Advantage, and the Preservation of our Being. What therefore was reasonable for God to do in these Circumstances? to require Repentance of Men for their Transgression? for this we may say was worthy of God, and may affirm, that as upon their Transgression they were doom'd to Destruction, so upon their Repentance they might be re-instated in Immortality. But then it must be consider'd, that Repentance it self did not make this reasonable with relation to God; For his Veracity had still been call'd in question, if Men had not been left under the Dominion of Death: For Repentance does not alter the Nature of things, but only implies a Cessation from Sin. In case therefore there had been nothing but the Transgression, and Mortality had not followed, Repentance had done very well; but since upon the foregoing Transgression Men were actually under the Power of that Mortality which was contrary to Nature, and had already lost that Image of God after which they were created, what else was to be done, or what Person was there Occasion for in order to this Favour and Recovery, but for that Word of God which made all things at first out of nothing? For it was proper for him to reduce what was become mortal to Immortality again; and to make a suitable Satisfaction for all in order to render them back in a State of Salvation to his Father. For seeing he was the Word of the Father, and was over all rational Beings, it follows that he only was able to create them all again; and to suffer for them all; and was sufficient to be their common Mediator with the Father.

8. For on this Account it was that the incorporeal, and immortal, and immaterial Word of God came into the Region of the Universe, altho' he were not remote from it before: For no Part of the Creation was left destitute of him, seeing he filled all things, and pervaded all things; while himself was still present with his Father; but he came to us, and condescended out of his tender Love to us, by his Appearance. And when he saw his reasonable Creatures perishing, and Death reigning over them by Mortality,
and

and when he perceived that the Threatning belonging to the Transgression still farther confirm'd that Mortality, which was an Enemy to us; and that it was absurd that the Law should be dissolved before it had been fulfill'd; and perceiving the dishonourable Condition of things, that those very Creatures of which himself was the Creator, were ruin'd; perceiving also the exceeding great Wickedness of Men, infomuch that they had improv'd therein to their own Misery to a degree almost intolerable; and perceiving withal that all Men were obnoxious to Death, he had Compassion on our Race, and commiserated our Infirmity, and condescended to our corruptible State, and not enduring that Death should tyrannize over us, " he took himself a Body; and that like one of ours; that so what was made might not perish, and his Father's Operation by him about Mankind might not come to nothing. For his Intention " was not barely to reside in a Body, nor only to appear; for had he only had a Mind to appear, he might have made that divine Appearance by a more noble Method: " But he took our human " Body, and that not after the common Manner, but of a pure " and spotless Virgin, who had never known Man: Which therefore was it self pure and free from the Mixture of a Man. For since he was able to do it, as being the Creator of the Universe, he formed himself a " Temple or a Body in the Virgin, and fitted " it peculiarly for his own Use, as an Instrument; and was therein " made manifest, and therein did inhabit. So that when he had " assum'd a Body like one of ours, on Account that all Men were " obnoxious to that Corruption which comes by Death, he gave " it up to Death, and offered it to his Father. Which was an Instance of his Love to Mankind: that both instead of the Death of all Men before, the Law which related to that Mortality, might be disannull'd, as having its Power entirely satisfied in the Lord's Body, and so had no more Place against the rest of Mankind; and also that he might recover " and revive those Men that were returning to Corruption from Death, by his making their Bodies " his own, and by the Grace of the Resurrection; and so might extinguish the Power of Death, with respect to them, as Scubble is pluck'd out of the Fire.

9. For the Word being conscious that the Mortality of Men could not otherwise be put an End to than by the dying of all Men, and it being impossible that the Word, which was immortal, and the Son of the Father, should die: " For this Cause he took " to himself a Body that could die, that the same Body by partaking of that Word which was over all, might be an Equivalent for the Death of all, and yet might afterward continue incorruptible, on Account of that Word that was the Inhabitant; and so Corruption might afterward cease from all Men, by the Grace of the Resurrection. Whence it is, " that himself took a " Body, as a spotless Sacrifice and Victim, which when he offer'd

up

up to Death, he did by such an Equivalent take away Death from those that were like unto himself. For since " the Word of God " was above all Men, he had Reason to esteem the Oblation of " that Bodily Instrument as an equivalent Ransom for all Men ; and it did accordingly cancel the Obligation of Death : And so this immortal Son of God, by his Similitude, as far as was possible, to all Men, had sufficient Cause to cloath all Men with Immortality, by his Promise concerning the Resurrection. For now that Corruption which is by Death, and is so contrary to Men, has not " any " Place on Account of the Word that inhabited among them in " one Body. And as the Case is with a great City, that when " some great King enters into it, and inhabits in some one of its " Houses, the whole City is for certain vouchsaf'd great Honour, " and neither does any Enemy nor Robber come thither to destroy it ; but it has on the other hand, great Care bestow'd upon " it on Account of the King's inhabiting in one of its Houses : So " is the Case with respect to the King of the World. For upon " his coming into our Regions, and inhabiting in one human Body, the Contrivances that were laid against Men by the Adversaries were at an End ; and that Corruption which of old by Death prevail'd against them, was abolished. For Mankind had certainly perished, unless the Lord and Saviour of the World, the Son of God, had come to put an End to Death.

10. Now that great Work was for certain exceedingly agreeable to the Goodness of God. For if a King when he has built an House, or a City, and it is afterward subject to an Assault from Robbers through the Carelessness of the Inhabitants, does not yet wholly overlook it, but delivers and saves what had been his own Work ; not so much regarding what Carelessness the Inhabitants had been guilty of, but what it was fit for himself to do : Much more has not the Word of the most gracious God and Father overlook'd Mankind, that was made by him, when it was going down to Corruption ; but has abolished Death, which had been introduc'd, " by " the Oblation of his own Body, and corrected their Carelessness by his own Doctrine, and amended all Misfortunes of Men by his own Power. Now we may confirm all that we have said by the Testimonies of those Men that were instructed in Divine Matters by our Saviour, if we will make use of their Writings ; wherein they say, *The Love of Christ constraineth us, because we thus judge, that if one died for all, then were all dead. And that he died for all, that we might no longer live unto our selves, but unto our Lord Jesus Christ, who died for us, and rose again (a).* And elsewhere ; *But we see Jesus who was made a little lower than the Angels, for the suffering of Death, crowned*

(a) 2 Cor. V. 14.

with Glory and Honour; that he, by the Grace of God, should taste Death for every Man (a). Where presently the Apostle assigns the Reason why it was not proper for any one but God the Word himself to be incarnate, when he says, *For it became him for whom were all things, and by whom were all things, in bringing many Sons unto Glory, to make the Captain of their Salvation perfect thro' Sufferings* (b). The Meaning of which Passage is this, That it was not the Part of any one else to deliver Men from their corruptible State, but of God the Word, who in the Beginning did also make them. "And now that the Word himself took him a Body, that he might offer it a Sacrifice for those whom he resembled, the following Words testifie, *Seeing therefore the Children were Partakers of Flesh and Blood, he also himself took part with the same, that by the Means of Death he might destroy him that had the Power of Death, that is the Devil; and might deliver them, as many as through Fear of Death were all their Lifetime subject to Bondage* (c). "For by the Oblation of his own Body he both put an End to that Law which concerned us, and renewed to us the Entrance of Life, by giving us the Hope of the Resurrection. For since Death obtained its Power from Men to Men; on that Account again it is, that the Dissolution of Death, and the Resurrection of Life, is brought about by the Incarnation of God the Word; as the Apostle says, *For since by Man came Death, by Man came also the Resurrection of the Dead. For as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive* (d). And the like Reasoning there is in what follows. For we do not now die by reason of the Condemnation, but, as those that are to rise again, we await the common Resurrection of all Men; which that God who effects and bestows it will shew in his own Times. This is therefore the first Occasion of the Incarnation. But then we may also understand that his gracious coming to us was for good Reason, from the following Considerations.

II. God that has the Power over all things, when he made Mankind by his own Word, considered withal the Weakness of their Nature, that it was not sufficient of it self to know their Creator, or indeed to have almost any Notion of him at all, because the one was Unbegotten, and the other was made out of nothing; as also because the one was Incorporeal, and Men were, as to their inferior Part, formed of a Body; and because upon the whole there was a mighty Defect in things that were made, with regard to the Comprehension and Knowledge of him that made them. He also out of his Goodness had Compassion on Mankind; and accordingly he did not leave them destitute of the Knowledge of himself, that their Being might not be to them unprofitable. For what Advantage would Existence be to those Beings that were made, if they did

(a) *Heb. II. 9.* (b) *Verse 10.* (c) *Verse 14.* (d) *I Cor. XV. 11.*

not know their Maker? or how could they be reasonable Creatures, if they did not know the Word [or Reason] of the Father, by whom they were made? For they would not at all differ from the irrational Creatures, if they had had no Notions but of earthly things. And why did God make such Creatures by which he had no Mind to be known? Indeed, to prevent this Ignorance, he out of his Goodness made them Partakers of his own Image, our Lord Jesus Christ, and made them according to his own Image and Likeness, that by such Grace bestowed on them they might reflect on that Image, I mean the Word of the Father; and so might obtain by him the Knowledge of the Father; and that when they knew their Maker, they might live a really happy and blessed Life. But Men grew foolish again, and despised even this Grace which was bestowed upon them, and did so far reject God, and so far pollute their own Souls, as not only to forget the Notions of God, but to frame to themselves one thing for another. For they formed to themselves Idols instead of the Truth; and preferred what had no Being, to the real God. *Serving the Creature more than the Creator* (a); and what was still worse, they transferr'd the Honour of God unto Wood, and Stone, and all sorts of Matter, and to Men; nay, they did what was still worse than all this, as we have already shewed. Indeed they came to that degree of Impiety, that they at last worshipped Demons, and called them Gods; and filled up the Measure of their Lusts: for they offer'd, as we have before discours'd, the Sacrifices of brute Creatures, and perform'd the Oblation of human Victims, in a way agreeable to such Idolatrous Superstitions; rendering themselves still more and more obnoxious to their furious Emotions. And by this means magick Arts were taught by them, and Predictions in every Place deceived Men, and all People ascribed the Causes of their Nativity, and of their Being, to the Stars, and to all the Heavenly Bodies; dreaming of nothing besides what was seen; and in short, all the World was full of Impiety and Wickedness, God only and his Word were not known; altho' he had not conceal'd himself from Men, nor indeed had merely afforded them one means of knowing of himself, but had redoubled them in diverse Manners, and by various Ways.

12. For that Grace which was afforded them, *after the Image of God*, was sufficient to make known God the Word, and by him the Father to them. But God, who knew the Weakness of Men, made Provision even for their Carelessness, that if they were negligent as to the Knowledge of God from themselves, they might have Means to avoid being ignorant of their Creator from the Works of the Creation. And whereas the Carelessness of Men did by degrees grow still worse and worse, God did farther make Pro-

(a) *Rom. I. 25.*

vision for even this Weakness of theirs also, by sending them Laws and Prophets from among themselves; that when they would not take Pains so much as to lift up their Eyes to Heaven, to know their Maker, they might have other readier Means at hand to instruct them. For Men do most naturally learn from other Men what is most for their Advantage. It was therefore in their Power to look up to the Magnitude of Heaven, and by the Contemplation of the Harmony of the Creation to know him that is the Ruler thereof, the Word of the Father, who by his Providence over all things makes known the Father to all, and for this Reason moves the Universe, that all by him may know God. Or if this Method was too troublesome for them, at least it was in their Power to converse with Holy Men; and by their Means to arrive at the Knowledge of God, the Creator of all things, the Father of Christ, and might discover that the Worship of Idols was an Instance of Atheism, and a thing full of all Impiety. 'Twas also in their Power, by the Knowledge of the Law, to leave off all kinds of Transgression, and to lead a Life by the Rules of Virtue. For the Law was not given only on Account of the *Jews*; nor were the Prophets sent only out of Regard to them: But while these were indeed sent to the *Jews*, and were by them persecuted, they were a Foundation of sacred Instruction to all the World in Divine Knowledge, and in Spiritual Conversation. Now, altho' the Goodness and Loving-kindness of God were so great, yet were Men so subdu'd by present Pleasures, and those Imaginations and Deceptions which were deriv'd from Dæmons, that they did not attempt to arrive at Truth; but indulg'd themselves in greater Evils and Instances of Wickedness, till they seem'd no longer to be rational Creatures, but rather deserv'd from their Conduct to be esteem'd brute Beasts.

13. Wherefore when Men were thus become Brutes, and Dæmoniacal Errors envelop'd every Part of the Universe, and took away the Means of knowing what concerned the true God, what was it fit for God to do? to keep Silence in so important a Case, and to suffer Men to be deceiv'd by Dæmons, and to be without the Knowledge of God? If so, what Occasion was there that Man should at first have been made after the Image of God? For he ought either to have been made barely as an irrational Creature; or when he was made rational, not to live the Life of Brutes. And besides, in this Case what Occasion was there for him at first to be endu'd with Notions of God? For if he be not now worthy of them, it was not necessary that they should have been implanted in him at the first. Farther, what Advantage could this be to God that made him? or what Glory could redound to him hereby? If those Men that were made by him do not worship him, but imagine that other Beings were their Makers: Since upon this Supposition

sition it appears that God created them for others, and not for himself. Moreover, if there be but an Earthly King, he does not suffer that those Places which himself has built should be deliver'd up to serve any others, or should revolt to others, but he warns them by Letters; nay, frequently sends to them by his Friends; and even, if need be, he comes at length himself and shames them; and all this that they may not serve others; and so his own Workmanship be to no Purpose. Is it not then much more reasonable that God should have Regard to his own Creatures? that they may not wander from him, and serve what has no Existence: Especially when such Error must turn to their Destruction and Perdition. It was not therefore fit that Beings, which had once been Partakers of the Image of God, should perish. What was then fit for God to do? or what else was fit to be done, but to provide again for the Renovation of what was made after his Image? that so thereby Men might be able again to know him. Now, how could this be done, but by the coming of the Image of God it self, our Saviour Jesus Christ: For by Men this thing could not be done; since themselves were made according to the Image: Nor indeed by Angels; since even they are not the Images of God. Whence it was that the Word of God came of himself, that he, as being the Image of the Father, might be able to create Man again, who had once been created after that Image. Nay even then, this had not been done, unless Death had been, and Mortality was to be abolish'd. Whence he, as it was but reasonable, "took a mortal Body; " that so for the Time to come Death might by him be abolish'd, and Men that were made after that Image might again be renewed. Wherefore no one was capable of this Attempt but the Image of the Father.

14. For 'tis here as with the Shape of a Man engraven in Wood; but disfigur'd by external Filth; there is Occasion for the Presence of that Man himself again whose Statue it is; that so the Image may be renewed in the same piece of Wood again. For the Wood it self, wherein the Figure is, is therefore not cast away because of its bearing the Man's Figure; but the Figure is engrav'd over again; In the same Manner did that most Holy Son of the Father, who is his very Image, come into the Places where we live, that he might renew Man again, who was made after him; and that he might find him, as one that had been lost, by the Remission of Sins; agreeably to what he says himself in the Gospels, *I came to find and to save that which was lost* (a). Whence it was also that he said to the Jews, *Except a Man be begotten again* (b); not meaning the Generation according to the Flesh, as they supposed; but de-

(a) *Luke XIX. 10.* (b) *John III. 3.*

elaring that new Generation and new Creation of the Soul which is made according to his Image. Now seeing that the Madness of Idolatry and Atheistical Notions overspread the whole World, and Divine Knowledge was hidden from Men, to whom did it belong to instruct the World concerning the Father? Some Body perhaps may say, it belonged to a Man. But Men are not capable of travelling over all the Earth; as not of a Nature strong enough for that Purpose; nor of sufficient Credit for the same; nor able of themselves to oppose the Deceits and Delusions of Dæmons. For when the Souls of all Men were affected and disorder'd by the Deceits of Dæmons, and the Vanity of Idols; how was it possible for them to persuade the Souls of Men, and the Minds of Men to reform, when they were not able so much as to see the Men themselves? Now if any one does not see a Person, how can he persuade him to reform? But perhaps some will say, that the Creation is sufficient for that Purpose. But if the Creation had prov'd sufficient, such great Evils had not been in the World. For the Creation has existed all along; and yet Men have nevertheless wallowed in the same Error concerning God. Who was it then that was wanting, but God the Word? who sees the very Soul and the Mind, and who moved the Universe at the Creation; and thereby discovered the Father. For he that instructed Men concerning the Father, by his own Providence and Disposal of the Universe, was the proper Person to renew the same Instruction. How then was this to be done? Perhaps some may say, it might be done by the same Means as before; and that he might shew them God again by the Works of Creation. But this was not now to be done to any sure Effect; by no Means. For Men had overlook'd that before; and did no longer cast their Eyes upward, but downward. Whereupon with good Reason it was, "that when he was desirous to do Good to Men, he sojourn'd among them as a Man, by taking to himself a Body like one of theirs, and from things on Earth, (I mean by bodily Operations) that so those that would not know him from his Providence and Superintendence over all, might at least know the Word of God, "when he was in a Body, from the bodily Operations which he thereby perform'd; and so by his Means might know the Father.

15. For as a good Master, who is really careful of his Scholars, will for certain condescend to them, and teach them by meaner Ways, when they can receive no Advantage by higher Methods of Instruction; so does the Word of God do in this Case; as Paul also says, *For since through the Wisdom of God the World by Wisdom knew not God, it pleased God through the Foolishness of Preaching to save them that believe (a).* For seeing Men turned themselves a-

(a) 1 Cor. I. 21.

way from the Contemplation of God; and like Men drowned in the Deep, fixed their Eyes downwards, and sought God in the things that were made, and that were sensible, forming to themselves dead Men and Demons for their Gods: For that Cause the Lover of Men, and common Saviour of all, the Word of God, “ takes to himself a Body, and converses among Men, as a Man, “ and takes upon him the Sensations of all Men; that so those “ who imagin’d the Deity to belong to bodily things, might discover the Truth from those very things that the Lord performed “ by bodily Operations; and by him might come to the Knowledge of the Father: And that as they were Men, and had all the Notions of Men in them; they, which way soever they turned their Understanding, might thereby find themselves caught, and taught the Truth on every Side. For if they were surprized at the Creation, they might see that that Creation owned Christ the Lord: Or if their Mind was already pre-engag’d about the Affairs of Men, and supposed them to be Gods, they might still, by the Comparison of our Saviour’s Works with theirs, discover that he is the only Person among Men who is the Saviour, the Son of God, by observing, that those never did such Works as were done by God the Word; or if they were prepossess’d in Favour of Demons, yet might they by observing how they were driven away by the Lord, discover that this Person alone was the Word of God, and that the Demons were not Gods: Nay, in Case their Minds were so entangled with Regard to the Dead, as to worship the Heroes, and those whom the Poets call Gods, they might however by seeing the Resurrection of our Saviour, acknowledge that they were Falsities, and that the Lord alone was the true Word of the Father, who is Lord over Death it self also. On this Account was it, that he was Begotten, “ and appeared as a Man, and died, and rose again, that he might diminish and obscure the Actions of all Men that ever were by his own Works: That what Prepossessions soever Men were engaged in, he might free them from the same, and might teach them his true Father. As himself says, *I came to save and to find that which was lost* (a).

16. For seeing Mens Understandings were already fallen among “ sensible Objects, the Word submitted himself to appear by a Body; “ that as if he were a Man, he might transfer Men to himself, and might bring their Affections unto himself, and might besides induce them to believe, by what he did, “ that he whom they “ saw as a Man, was not a meer Man, but also God, and the Word, “ and Wisdom of the True God. This it was which Paul would be understood to mean when he said, *That being rooted and grounded in Love, ye may be able to comprehend with all Saints what is the*

(a) Luke XIX. 10.

Breadth, and Length, and Height, and Depth; and to know the Love of Christ which passeth Knowledge, that ye may be filled with all the Fullness of God (a). Accordingly does the Word shew himself every way, above, and below, and in the Depth, and in the Breadth. Above, by the Creation; Below, by the Incarnation; in the Depth, in the invisible World; in the Breadth, of the wide World, by replenishing all Regions with the Knowledge of God. And on this Account it was that even when he came, "and offered a Sacrifice" for all, by delivering his Body to Death, and raising it up again, he did not hide himself in Obscurity thereby, but thereby made himself conspicuous, abiding in him, "and performing such" Works, and shewing such Signs, as declar'd him to be no longer "a Man, but God the Word. For our Saviour shewed his Love to Mankind two Ways; both by his Incarnation, whereby he took away Death from us, and renewed us; and also that being conceal'd and invisible he manifested himself by his Works, and shewed himself to be the Word of the Father, the Ruler and King of the Universe.

17. "For he was not included in a Body; nor was he so in a Body, "as not to be elsewhere; nor did he so move that Body as to "leave the Universe void of his Power and Providence; but what indeed is most wonderful; as he was the Word he was not comprehended by any thing, but did himself rather comprehend all things. And as he being within the whole Creation, but after such a Manner that he is without the Universe in his Substance, but in all Creatures by his Power, he disposes of all things, and extends his Providence to all Creatures, in all Places, and revives every single Being, and the whole Body of them at once; containing the Universe, but not being thereby contained; and existing intirely and compleatly in his Father alone. "So being in the Humane "Body and enlivening it, did he in a due Manner enliven all "things also; and was within all Creatures, and without the Universe at the same time; and as he was discovered out of the "Body by his Works, so was not he in the mean time hindred "from giving Marks of his Power in the Universe. 'Tis indeed "the Work of the Soul to extend its Contemplations and Reasonings "to things without the Body; but not to operate out of its proper "Body, nor to move that by its Presence which is remote from "it. For no Man did ever by thinking of things remote, move "those things, and change their Places; nor did any one ever sit "in his own House, and by reasoning about the Heavenly Bodies "really move the Sun, and turn the Heaven about. 'Tis true, he "sees them move, and sees them exist; but is not able to act upon "them. But the Word of God was not of this Nature in Man,

(a) *Ephes. III. 17.*

“ for he was not bound fast to the Body, but did himself rather
 “ hold it together. Whence he was therein, and also was at the
 “ same time present to all things, and was without the Beings that
 “ exist, and rested alone in his Father. Now this was wonderful
 indeed, that he conversed as a Man, and yet enlivened all things
 as the Word; and was also as a Son with the Father. Whence
 it was, that when the Virgin brought him forth, he did not himself
 suffer thereby; “ nor when he was in the Body was he defil’d by
 “ it; but did rather sanctifie that Body. For while he was in all
 things, he was not a Partaker of all things; but all things rather
 were enliven’d and nourish’d by him. For if the Sun, which
 was made by him, and is seen by us, as it runs its Course in the Hea-
 vens, is not polluted by touching Earthly Bodies, nor is obscur’d
 by Darkness, but does it self rather enlighten and purifie those Bod-
 ies; much more was not the most Holy Word of God, who is the
 Maker and Lord of the Sun it self, “ polluted when he discover’d
 “ himself in a Body; but he did rather, as being himself immor-
 “ tal, while his Body was mortal, enliven and purifie it. *Who*, as
 the Apostle says, *did no Sin, neither was Guile found in his Mouth (a).*

18. When therefore the Divine Instructors speak of him, as eat-
 ing and drinking, and being born, “ observe that the Body, as a
 “ Body, was born, and nourished with proper Food; but God the
 “ Word himself, who was present with the Body, disposed of all
 “ things; and by what he did in the Body declared himself not to
 “ be a Man, but God the Word. Yet are these Affections ascrib’d
 “ to himself, because the Body that eat, and was born, and suffered,
 “ was not the Body of any one else but of the Lord; and because
 “ upon his becoming Man it was but suitable that such Affections
 “ should be ascribed to him, as to a Man; that it might appear he
 “ had a Body in Reality, and not in Imagination only. But then,
 “ as he was discover’d by these Affections to have been present with
 “ us bodily, so did it appear by the Works which he did by the
 “ Body that he was the Son of God. Whence it was that he cried
 to the unbelieving *Jews*, and said, *If I do not the Works of my Father,*
believe me not; but if I do, tho’ ye believe not me, yet believe my
Works; that ye may know and understand that the Father is in me,
and I in the Father (b). For as being invisible he is known from
 the Works of Creation; “ so being made a Man, and received
 “ into a Body, it might be known from his Works that he was not
 “ a Man, but the Power of God, and the Word which wrought
 “ them. For when he commanded the Demons, and drove them
 away, this was not a human but a divine Work. And indeed who
 is there that saw him heal those Diseases which Mankind were affli-
 cted withal, and would not think him to be a God rather than a

(a) 1 Pet. II. 22. (b) John X. 37.

Man? For he healed the Leprosie, he made the Lame to walk, he open'd the Ears of the Deaf, he made the Blind to see, and drove away all Sickneses, and all Diseases universally from Men: Whereby any one that was there might contemplate his Divinity. For who is there that seeing him restore what was defective in some Persons original Constitution, and *open the Eyes of one blind from his Birth (a)*, would not observe that the Nativity of Man was subject to him, and that he is the Creator and Maker thereof. For he that restored what the Man never had from his Birth, 'tis plain he must certainly be the Lord even of the Nativity of Men. On this Account it was that when " he first descended to us he *formed to himself a Body from the Virgin (b)*; that he might afford a small Demonstration of his Divinity to all Men; and shew that *he who formed this Body is himself the Maker of other Men also (b)*. For who is there that seeing a Body deriv'd from a pure Virgin, without a Man, does not presently think with himself, that he who appeared therein was also the Maker and Lord of the Bodies of others. And who is there that seeing the Substance of Water chang'd and alter'd to Wine, does not perceive that he that does this is the Lord and Creator of the Substance of all Waters? For for the same Reason he went upon the Sea, and walked there as upon the Earth, as being its Lord; affording a Demonstration thereby of his Dominion to all that saw him. When also he fed so great a Multitude with a little, and in a time of Distress brought Plenty, satisfying Five Thousand with Five Loaves, and leaving so great a Quantity besides, this was also a Demonstration that he was no other than the Lord of Providence, as to the whole Universe.

19. Now it seemed good to our Saviour to do all these things, that because Men were ignorant of his Providence over all things, nor did reflect on his Divinity, as shewed by the Creation, yet might they be induc'd from the Works he did in the Body to look upwards, and by him get the Impression of the Knowledge of the Father; and by reasoning from particular Instances might, as I have said already, gather his universal Providence. For who was there that saw his Power over Demons, or who was there that saw the Demons confessing that he was Lord over them, that could stand doubt whether he were the Son, and the Wisdom, and the Power of God? For he did not suffer the Creation it self to be silent, but, which was truly wonderful, even at his Death, or, to speak more properly, in his Triumph over Death, I mean when he was crucified, the whole Creation confessed, " That he who was manifested in a Body and suffered, was not a meer Man, but the Son of God, and Saviour of the World. For the Sun turned away his Face; the Earth quaked; the Mountains rent; and all Men were

(a) *John IX.* (b) *Constitut. passim.*

in a Consternation. Now these Signs declared that this Christ who hung upon the Cross, was God, that the whole Creation was subservient to him, and by their Consternation witnessed to the Presence of their Lord. After this Manner therefore did God the Word manifest himself to Men by his own Works. But it is time now to explain the last Part of his Life and Conversation, while he " was in the Body; and to give an Account what sort of Death he underwent; and this mainly because that is the principal Article of our Faith, and all Men universally are full of it; that so you may perceive there are not less Indications here than elsewhere that Christ is God, and the Son of God.

20. We indeed have already in part discours'd " about the Occasion of his Bodily Appearance; that is, as far as was convenient, and so far as we have, according to our Ability, been able to apprehend of that Matter; that it was not possible for any one else to change Corruption to Incorruption, but for the Saviour himself, who at first made all things of nothing; nor for any one else to create that Part of Man again which was made after God's Image; but for that Image of the Father; nor for any one else to raise the mortal Body immortal, but for him that was Life it self, our Lord Jesus Christ; nor for any one else to teach Men of the Father, and to pull down the Worship of Idols, but for that Word that disposed of all things, who was the Only, and Only Begotten, and True Son of the Father. But then, since the Debt which all Men owed was at length to be paid; for he was obliged on all Accounts, as we have shewed already, to die; for which Cause principally it was that he came amongst us; for this Cause, I say, it was now proper, that after he had given those Demonstrations of his Divinity by his Works, " he should offer himself a Sacrifice for all, and deliver up " his Temple to Death for all; that so he might render all unobnoxious and free from the original Transgression; and might shew " that he was superiour to Death, by constituting his own Body as incorruptible, and the first Fruits of the general Resurrection. Nor are you to be surprized if we often repeat the same things upon the same Subjects. For seeing we are discoursing of the Goodness of God, on that Account we explain things at large, lest we should seem to omit any thing, and we should be accus'd as having given an imperfect Account of this Matter. For 'tis certainly better to bear the Imputation of Tautology, than to omit any thing that ought to be said. " His Body then, as having the same common Essence with " that of all others, (for it was a Humane Body) altho' it had this " wonderful Circumstance belonging to it that it had its Constitution " from a pure Virgin, yet being mortal it died as all the like Bodies do, " but by the Presence of the Word it was not corrupted, as of its " own Nature it would have been; but was free from Corruption, " on Account of the Word of God that was its Inhabitant; and " both

“ both these things were true in the same Body, to the Surprize
 “ of all, that at once the Death of all Men was fulfilled in the Body
 “ of the Lord; and yet Death and Corruption were destroy’d on
 “ Account of that Word which was present with it. For Death
 there must be, and a Death for all Men was to be procur’d. Whence
 it was that the Word, “ since it self could not die, as we have
 “ already observ’d (for the Word is of an immortal Nature) took
 “ for himself a Body that could die, that he might offer that, as
 “ somewhat of his own, for all Men; and that by this sort of suf-
 “ fering for all he might by his Entrance thereinto *abolish him that*
had the Power of Death, that is, the Devil; and deliver those, so
many as through Fear of Death were subject to Bondage (a).

21. We of the faithful in Christ do certainly upon this Death of
 the common Saviour of all, no longer die the Death, according to
 the threatening of the Law, as we did of old Time; for that Con-
 demnation is ceased: But upon the ceasing of Corruption, and its
 disappearing by the Grace of the Resurrection, we are only, at a
 time determin’d by God for every one, dissolved with respect to
 the mortal Body, that so we may be in a Capacity of *obtaining a*
better Resurrection (b). For, like Seeds that are cast into the Ground,
 we do not perish upon our Dissolution; but as being sown, we shall
 arise again, upon the Destruction of Death, according to the Grace
 of our Saviour. On which Account the blessed *paul* also says, as a
 Surety himself of the Resurrection, *This corruptible must put on In-*
corruption, and this Mortal must put on Immortality. Now when this
Corruptible shall put on Incorruption, and this Mortal shall put on Im-
mortality, then shall be brought to pass that Saying which is written,
Death is swallowed up in Victory. O Death, where is thy Sting? O
Grave, where is thy Victory (c)? But some may say, “ Why then,
 “ if it were necessary that he should deliver up his Body to Death,
 “ did not he lay it aside properly as a Man; but proceeded so far
 “ as to let it be crucified? For it was more decent for him to lay
 “ aside his own Body, than to permit it to undergo so injurious a
 “ Death. But now I desire it may be consider’d whether this be
 not bare Humane Reasoning; while what our Saviour did was re-
 ally Divine, and worthy of his Divinity on many Accounts.
 For in the first Place, that Death which is common to Men hap-
 pens to them by reason of the Weakness of their Nature. For they
 are dissolv’d because of their Inability to continue very long. For
 which Cause it is that Diseases come upon them, and they die by their
 Natural Weakness. Now our Lord was not weak, but is the Power
 of God, and the Word of God, and Life it self. In Case therefore
 he had privately, “ according to the ordinary Case of Men, laid
 “ aside his Body on a sick Bed, he would have been thought to

(a) *Heb. II. 15.* (b) — *XI. 35.* (c) *I Cor. XV. 53.*

“ have done it by reason of the Weakness of his Nature, and like
 “ one that had nothing more within than other Men. But now
 “ seeing he was both Life, and the Word of God, and was to un-
 “ dergo Death for all, therefore did he, as being Life and Power it
 “ self, render his Body also firm; but as he was oblig’d to die he
 took the Occasion of compleating the Oblation not from himself,
 but from others; seeing it was not fit that that Lord who cur’d
 the Diseases of others, should be himself subject to Diseases, no
 more than it was fit that “ that Body in which he strengthened the
 “ Weaknesses of others, should it self become weak. Wherefore
 then did he not prevent his own Death, as well as Diseases? “ Be-
 “ cause he had a Body for that very Purpose, and it was dishonou-
 rable to prevent it; lest the Resurrection should have been hinder’d.
 Altho’ for a Disease to have preceded Death had been dishonourable,
 lest it “ should seem to have been thro’ the Weakness of him who
 “ was in that Body. Was not he then hungry? Yes, he was hun-
 “ gry; because that is a Property of a Body; but he did not perish
 “ with Hunger, because of the Lord that bear the Body about him.
 “ For this Cause was it also that when he died, as he was to be a
 “ Ransom for all, he yet did not see Corruption; for he rose com-
 “ plet: Since the Body belong’d to no one but to him who was
 “ Life it self.

22. But still some may say, that he might have been conceal’d
 from the Snares of the *Jews*, and that in order to preserve entire-
 ly his Body immortal. Let such an one take Notice, that this also was
 dishonourable for the Lord to do. “ For as it was not fit for the
 “ Word of God, who was Life, to inflict Death upon his Body him-
 “ self; so also was it not proper to avoid that Death which was in-
 flicted by others, but rather to endeavour that it might be inflicted.
 Whereupon he acted as became him, “ when he did not lay down his
 “ Body himself, nor again did avoid the Snares of the *Jews*. Now
 this Procedure did not shew the Weakness of the Word, but dis-
 cover’d him to be the Saviour, and the Life; seeing he awaited
 Death to take him away, and then he made haste to accomplish
 that Death which was appointed for the Salvation of all. And be-
 sides, our Saviour came to put an End to not only his own Death,
 but that of Mankind. “ Wherefore he did not lay aside his Body
 “ by his own dying, but waited for that Death which was to be
 “ inflicted by Men; that so he might entirely abolish that Death
 “ when it came by his own Body. Moreover, we may hence also
 discover that “ it was very suitable that the Lord’s Body should
 “ undergo Death after this Manner. Our Lord was chiefly con-
 cern’d for what was to come after the Resurrection of his Body,
 which he was to bring about. For this was to be a Trophy against
 Death, erected to be seen of all, that all might be assured that he
 had blotted out Corruption, and restor’d that Incorruption which
 now remains for our Bodies. On which Account “ he has pre-
 “ serv’d

“ serv'd his own Body incorruptible, as a Pledge and Demonstration of that Incorruption. Now in Case his Body had been afflicted with Sickness, and the Word had been separated from it before all Men, it would have been dishonourable for him that cured the Diseases of others to overlook that Instrument which himself made use of, when it wore away with Diseases. For how would it have been believ'd that he drove away the Infirmities of others, if his own Temple was hereby subject to Infirmities? For he would either have been laught at, as one that was unable to drive away the Disease; or if he were able, and yet did not do it, he would have seem'd void of Loving-kindness to others.

23. “ But then, in Case he had hidden his Body without any Disease, and without any Pain; and that in some private Place, by himself, in a Corner, or in some desert Place, or in an House, or in any other Place whatsoever, and had presently appear'd on the sudden, and said, that he was risen from the Dead, he would have been thought by all Men to tell Fables; and would have had still less Credit given to him when he spake of the Resurrection: Seeing there would have been no one to bear witness that he had been dead. Death must certainly precede a Resurrection: Seeing where there is no Death first, there can be no Resurrection afterward. Wherefore, “ If the Death of his Body had happen'd any where privately, when that Death did not appear, nor was done before Witnesses, his Resurrection must have been obscure, and without Witnesses also. Now for what Reason did he proclaim his Resurrection publicly, when it was over, while he took Care to leave his Death in Obscurity? or why did he drive away Demons in the Sight of all Men, make the Man blind from his Birth to see again, and change Water into Wine, in order to assuring Men thereby that he was the Word of God, and yet not demonstrate in the Sight of all that his mortal Body was become immortal, that it might be believed that he was the Life? And why had his Disciples Power to preach concerning the Resurrection publicly, if they had nothing to say as to his Dying before it? Or how would Credit have been given them, when they said that he first died before he rose again, unless those among whom they openly preach'd had been their Witnesses that he had been dead? For if when both the Death and Resurrection happen'd in the Sight of all, the *Pharisees* at that time would not believe, but forced those that saw the Resurrection to deny it, how many Pretences for their Unbelief had they devised, if these things had been done in an occult Manner? And how then could the End of Death and the Victory over it have been shewed, unless he had invited it to come to him in the Sight of all, and had convicted it, as it self dead, and as depriv'd of its Strength for the future, “ by the Incorruption of his Body?

24. But it will be proper for us to add to these Reasonings of ours what others have also said upon such Occasions. For it may be some may say thus, if it were proper that his Death should happen in the Sight of all, and before Witnesses, that the Assertion concerning the Resurrection might be credited, at least it was proper that he should have contrived for himself a glorious Death, that he might at least escape the Ignominy of the Cross. But then, had he done thus, he had given Occasion for Suspicion against himself, as if he had not Power over all sorts of Death, but only as to that which was thus contrived; and the Suspicion about the Incredibility of the Resurrection would have been not at all diminished. Wherefore "Death came upon his Body not from himself, but from the Contrivance of others, that so our Saviour might abolish that very Death which they brought upon him. And as a brave Wrestler, who is eminent for Skill and Courage, does not choose out Antagonists for himself, lest he should give Occasion for the Suspicion of being afraid of some others, but leaves it in the Power of the Spectators, especially where they are Enemies to him; that so whomsoever they appoint for the Combat, he may overcome him, and thereby may be esteem'd superior to all; just so was it with our Lord and Saviour Christ, the Life of all Men, "who "did not contrive a particular Death for his own Body, that he might not seem to be afraid of another, but he accepted of and underwent that on the Cross, which was brought about by others, and especially by his Enemies; which they esteemed a terrible and disgraceful Death, and such as ought peculiarly to be avoided; that so upon the abolishing of this himself might be believ'd to be the Life, and the Power of Death might be intirely abolish'd. Accordingly, what is wonderful and surprizing came to pass: For that Death they contriv'd to inflict upon him as a disgraceful one, is it self become a Trophy against Death it self. On which Account he did not suffer the Death of *John*, who was beheaded; nor was he sawn alunder, like *Esaias*; "that he might preserve his Body "entire and compleat, thro' Death it self, and no Occasion might be offered to such as have a mind to make Divisions in the Church.

25. And let so much be said for the sake of those who being out of the Church heap up to themselves Reasonings of their own. But as for those who are of our own Body, if any of them, not out of Contention, but from a Desire of Information, makes this Enquiry, why he did not suffer some other Death than that of the Cross? Let him take Notice that it was best for us that he should suffer in no other than this Way; and well was it for us that the Lord suffered this Death. For if he himself came to undergo that Curse which was denounc'd against us, how could any other Death serve for this Curse, unless he had accepted of that Death which was accursed: Now this Death is that of the Cross: For so it is written,
Curſed

Cursed is he that hangeth on a Tree (a). Besides, if the Lord's Death was the Price of Redemption for all, and by his Death the *middle Wall of Partition is cast down (b)*, and thereupon the *Gentiles* are called, how could he have called us to himself, unless he had been crucified? For no one dies with stretch'd out Hands but only upon the Cross: Wherefore it was fit the Lord should suffer this Death, and stretch out his Hands to draw with the one Hand his Ancient People, and those from among the *Gentiles* with the other, and join them both together in himself. For this it was which himself said when he signified by what Death he was to redeem all Men; *When, says he, I shall be lifted up, I will draw all Men unto me (c).* And again, seeing the Adversary of our Humane Race, the Devil, is fallen from Heaven, and wanders about in the Air, which is here below, and does there rule over the Dæmons that are with him, as over Beings like to himself in their Disobedience, and excites several Imaginations by their Means in such as are deceived by them, and endeavours to hinder those that would ascend upwards; concerning which the Apostle says, *According to the Prince of the Power of the Air, the Spirit which now worketh in the Children of Disobedience (d)*; and seeing the Lord came to subdue the Devil, and to purify the Air, and to guide us in that way which will lead us to Heaven, as the Apostle says, *through the Veil, that is to say, his Flesh (e)*, which was to be done by his Death; what other Death could these things be provided for than that which was in the Air, that is upon the Cross? For only he that ends his Life upon a Cross does die in the Air. So that it was for good Reasons that the Lord underwent that Death. For when he was lifted up after that Manner, he both purified the Air from the Snares of the Devil, and of all the Dæmons, as he said, *I saw Satan fall down like Lightning (f)*, and also by going in the Way that leads to Heaven, he anew dedicated the same, as he says again, *Ye Princes lift up your Gates, and be ye lift up ye Everlasting Doors (g).* For as to the Word himself, he stood in no need of the opening of the Gates; as being Lord of all; nor was any created thing shut to its Creator. But it was we that wanted it; "whom he carried up by his own Body. "For as he offered that Body to Death for all Men, so has he by "it open'd the Way to Heaven.

26. The Death upon the Cross therefore was such as was fit and agreeable for our Sakes; and the Occasion of it appears to be rational on all Accounts, and has just Foundations: So that it was fit the Salvation of all Men should be procur'd by the Cross. For even in that Case he did not permit himself to be unknown; but he did sufficiently make the Creatures testify the Presence of their Creator. Nor

(a) *Gal. III. 3.* (b) *Eph. II. 14.* (c) *John XII. 32.* (d) *Eph. II. 2.* (e) *Heb. X. 20.* (f) *Luc. X. 18.* (g) *Psal. XXIII. 7.*

did he suffer *the Temple of his Body* to continue any long time dead ; but when he had shewed it to be dead in that Conflict it had with Death, he raised it again on the third Day, and exhibited that very Body incorruptible and impassible as a Trophy erected in Opposition to Death. Our Saviour was able indeed to have raised up his dead Body presently, and to have shewn it alive again ; but out of his wise Prescience he did not think fit so to do. For then some might have said that he had never been at all dead, or that Death had never taken compleat hold of him, if he had presently demonstrated his Resurrection. Nay, probably, in that Case, if Death and the Resurrection had come on together, the Glory of his incorruptible State had not been visible. “ Whereupon, in order to “ demonstrate that his Body was dead, the Word suffered one Day to interpose, and shewed it incorruptible on the third Day to all. But still, lest had it continued longer, and been intirely corrupted before it was raised, it might not have been believ’d that he had put on the same Body, but another ; (for some might in length of Time disbelieve and forget what had happen’d ;) he therefore did not interpose more than three Days ; nor did he hold his Hearers in Suspence for a long Time, as to his Resurrection ; but while their Ears rang with this thing, and their Eyes were in Expectation, and their Mind was in Suspence, and those that put him to Death were alive upon Earth, and upon the Place, and “ ready to attest to the “ Death of the Lord’s Body, the Son of God did himself, in the “ space of three Days, exhibit that dead Body immortal and incorruptible ; and a Demonstration was afforded to all that it was “ not through the Weakness of the Nature of the Word, who was “ the Inhabitant, that the Body died ; but that Death might be abolished thereby, through the Power of our Saviour.

27. Now that Death was destroy’d, and that the Cross was become victorious over it ; and that it had no more Power, but was really dead, we have no small Indication ; or rather we have plain Assurance given us thereof by that Contempt which all Christ’s Disciples have of it, that they insult over it, and are no longer affrighted at it, but by the Sign of the Cross, and by Faith in Christ do trample upon it, as dead. For in old time, before the Divine Appearance of our Saviour, Death was terrible even to the Saints themselves ; and all Men lamented dying Persons as those that perish’d. “ But now that our Saviour has raised up his Body, Death “ is no longer terrible, and all Believers in Christ trample on it as nothing, and choose to die rather than to deny the Christian Faith. For they are satisfied that when they die they do not perish, but are alive still, and become incorruptible by his Resurrection. While the Devil, that was wont formerly to insult over us wickedly by Death, did himself now upon *the loosing of those Pains (a)*, alone re-

main truly dead ; a certain Sign whereof is this, that before Men believe in Christ they look upon Death as a terrible thing, and are afraid of it ; but when once they are come under his Faith and Doctrine, they despise Death to that Degree, that they do readily hasten to it, and so become Witnesses of that Resurrection which our Saviour procur'd in Opposition thereto. For even while they are Infants in Age, they make haste to die ; and not the Men only but the Women also prepare themselves to get the Victory over it. So weak indeed is it become, that even the Female Sex which formerly were deceiv'd by it, do now make sport with it, as with a thing dead, and come to nothing. For like as it is with a Tyrant, when he is conquered by the true King, and bound Hand and Foot, he is made Sport with by all Comers, and beaten, and drawn about by them, on Account that the true King upon Conquest of him has put an End to their Fear of his Madnes and Cruelty. So is it here upon the Conquest of Death, and its being triumphed over by our Saviour on the Cross, and bound Hand and Foot by him : For now do all Christians that come near Death trample upon it ; and when they are called to Martyrdom for Christ, they laugh at it ; and speak despitefully of it, using those Words that were long ago written in Derogation of it, *O Death ! where is thy Victory ? O Grave ! where is thy Sting (a) ?*

28. Is this then but a small Argument of the Weakness of Death, or a small Demonstration of the Victory which our Saviour has obtained over it, when Christian Boys and young Girls overlook this present Life, and prepare themselves to die ? For Man is by Nature timorous of Death, and the Dissolution of his Body ; but now this is the most surprizing thing imaginable, that he who has put on Faith in the Cross, contemns what by Nature he dreads, and is not afraid of Death for the sake of Christ. And as it would be in the Case of Fire, which naturally burns and consumes Bodies ; where if any one should pretend that there is a certain Body that is not affected with its consuming Power, but rather demonstrates its Weakness ; as is the supposed Case of the *Indian Stone Amiantus* ; and thereupon he that would not believe what was said, made Trial whether it were so or not, and upon his putting on a Garment made of that Material which cannot be consumed, and exposing it to the Fire, he is afterward assured of the Weakness of the Fire with respect thereto : Or as it would be in the Case of the Tyrant, when any one has a Mind to see him in his Bonds, if he will go over into the Country and Dominion of the Conqueror, he will see him that was formerly terrible now become weak ; so is it in the present Case, where if any one be still never so incredulous, after so many Wonders, and after the Sufferings of so many Martyrs for

(a) *Hos. XIII. 14. 1 Cor. XV. 55.*

Christ, and after that Contempt of Death which happens every Day among such as signalize themselves in Christianity. Certainly, if he has still any Scruples in his Mind, whether Death be really abolished, and come to an End, he does well to admire at so strange a thing. However, let him not be too difficult to be persuaded, nor oppose the plainest Evidence: But as he that puts on the *Amiantus* knows that the Fire is not able to consume it; and he that has a Mind to see the Tyrant in Bonds goes into the Dominions of the Conqueror; so let him that cannot believe that Death is conquered, take upon him the Faith of Christ, and let him come to his Doctrine; and then he will see the Weakness of Death, and be sensible of the Victory which has been obtained over it. For many of those that formerly were incredulous and laugh at us, when they afterward believed, had such a Contempt of Death as themselves to have become Martyrs for Christ.

29. But then, if Death be trampled upon by the Sign of the Cross, and by Faith in Christ, 'tis manifest, if Truth may be Umpire, that 'tis no one but Christ himself that has exhibited these Trophies and Signs of Victory in Opposition to Death; and that he it is that has depriv'd it of its Strength. And if Death did aforetime prevail, and on that Account was terrible, and is now despis'd upon the Advent of our Saviour, the Death of his Body, and its Resurrection, it will thence be evident that Death has been abolish'd and conquered by Christ himself, who ascended on the Cross. For as upon the Appearance of the Sun after the Night is over, and its enlightning all the Country round about, 'tis for certain no longer a doubt but 'tis the Sun that by diffusing its Rays every where drives away the Darkness, and enlightens all things; so upon this Contempt of, and trampling upon Death, which has happen'd "since the saving Advent of our Saviour in the Body, and the Death of the Cross, " must it be very evident that 'tis our Saviour himself appearing in " a Body, who has abolished Death, and exhibits the Trophies in Opposition thereto every Day in his Disciples. For when any one sees Men who are naturally weak, making haste to Death, and not affrighted at its Corruption, nor afraid of the Descent into the invisible World; but inviting it to them with a willing Mind, and not dreading Torments, but preferring the Choice of Death, for the Sake of Christ, before the present Life; or when any one sees Men and Women, and Young Children making haste and running to Death, for the sake of Christianity; who is there so foolish, or who is there so incredulous, or who is there so hardened in his Mind, as not to perceive and consider with himself, that 'tis Christ himself on whose Account these Men are Martyrs, that affords to, and bestows on every one of them this Victory over Death? rendering it of little Force in every one of those that believe in him, and bear about them the Sign of the Cross. For he that sees a Serpent trodden upon, cannot question thereafter from the Knowledge he has

has of his former Fierceness, but he is dead, and entirely depriv'd of his Strength, unless he be distracted in his Mind, and has not so much as his bodily Senses sound. For who is there that seeing a Lyon made sport with by Children can be ignorant that he is either killed, or has lost all his Strength? As therefore any one may see this to be true with his own Eyes, so is there no Reason for any one to doubt nor to disbelieve that Death has been abolished, and its Corruption dissolved, and put an End to any longer; seeing Death is laugh'd at and despis'd by those that believe in Christ.

30. What has been already said affords us no small Arguments that Death has been abolish'd, and that our Lord's Cross is a Trophy of the Victory obtain'd over it. But as to the Resurrection of the Body to Immortality hereafter, to be procur'd by Christ, who is the common Saviour of all Men, and the true Life, that Demonstration which arises from the Matter of Fact is more evident than any Reasonings can be; to those I mean that have the Eye of their Mind clear. For if Death be abolished, as we have shew'd it is, and accordingly all do for Christ's sake trample upon it, much more evident it is, that he did first of all trample upon it by his own Body, and abolish it. "Now when Death it self was mortify'd by him, what was to be expected, but that his Body should rise again, and be exhibited as a Trophy of the Victory obtain'd against it? or how could it appear that Death was abolished, "unless the Lord's Body arose again? But still, if this be not a sufficient Demonstration to any one, let him however be satisfied by what he may see with his own Eyes. For if it be plain that a dead Man can do nothing, but that all his Ability reaches no farther than the Grave, and thenceforth ceases; while Actions and Humane Operations are peculiar to the Living; let every Enquirer see and judge for himself, and own the Truth from what he sees. For while our Saviour works so powerfully among Men, and does every Day in all Places, tho' invisibly, persuade so great a Number both of *Greeks* and *Barbarians* to be converted to his Faith, and that every one should be obedient to his Doctrine; who can so much as doubt whether our Saviour is risen again, and whether Christ be alive, or rather be himself the Life? Is it in the Power of a dead Man to (a) *prick the Hearts* of Men, and thereby induce them to forsake the Laws of their Fathers, and to follow, with the utmost Submission, the Doctrine of Christ? Or if he does nothing at all; (as 'tis the peculiar Case of a dead Man,) how can he put an End to the Operations of those that are dead, and are alive? and this to that Degree that the Adulterer goes on no longer in his Adultery, the Man-slayer goes on no longer in his Murders, and the unjust Person goes on no longer in his Extortion, and the wicked Person becomes pious for

(a) *Acts* II. 37.

the time to come? Nay, if he be not arisen, but is still dead, how can he drive away, and persecute, and overcome those Beings, which the Unbelievers say are alive, I mean the Gods falsely so called, and the Dæmons, whom they worship? For where Christ is named, and his Faith obtains, all Idolatry is cast down, and all the Tricks of the Dæmons discover'd, and indeed not one of the Dæmons can abide his very Name, but they every one run away at the first hearing of it. Certainly this is not the Work of a dead Man, but of one alive; and more properly the Work of God. And indeed 'tis ridiculous to pretend that the Dæmons that are persecuted by him, and the Idols that are abolish'd, are still alive, but that he who by his own Power drives them away, and makes them not so much as to appear, and this while themselves do all confess that he is the Son of God, must be pretended to be dead.

31. Now this is a most convincing Argument which those that disbelieve the Resurrection afford us against themselves, if the Case be allowed to be such that all their Dæmons, and those Gods whom they worship, do not persecute Christ, but that on the contrary Christ does evince to all that they are dead. For if it be a known Truth that he who is dead can do nothing, and yet our Saviour exerts so many Operations every Day, drawing Men to Piety, persuading them to Virtue, instructing them about the Life Immortal, inducing them to the Desires of Heavenly Things, revealing to them the Knowledge of his Father, inspiring them with Power to overcome Death, exhibiting himself to every one, and destroying the Atheistical Worship of Idols; while these Gods and Dæmons which are worshipped by the Unbelievers are able to do nothing; but on the contrary appear to be dead at the Presence of Christ; retaining nothing but a vain and imaginary Existence; and while by the Sign of the Cross the intire Art of Magick is put an End to, all Conjuratation is abolished, and all the Idols themselves are become desolate, and fall away, all irrational Pleasures are left off, and every one begins to look up from Earth to Heaven, who can with any Colour pretend that he that performs such mighty Operations is dead still? Certainly, 'tis not the Part of a dead Man to work: but those Beings rather are dead that do nothing at all; which is the known Case of Dæmons and Idols. For truly the Son of God, who is *living and powerful* (a), works every Day, and procures the Salvation of all; but Death is plainly depriv'd every Day of its Power, together with the Idols and Dæmons, which appear therefore to be dead. Insomuch that no one can now any longer doubt of the Resurrection of Christ's Body. " And indeed he that does not believe the Resurrection of our Lord's Body, is certainly ignorant of the Power of the Word and Wisdom of God. For if he did

(a) *Heb. IV. 12.*

“ really take to himself a Body, and made it his own in an agreeable Manner, as we have already demonstrated, what was it fit for the Lord to do with it? or what End was to be put to that Body, which the Word had once entred into? It being of a mortal Nature, and to be offered to Death for all, must needs die: For which very Reason it was that our Saviour prepared it for himself. But it was not possible for it to continue dead; since Life it self had used it as its Temple. Wherefore it died, as being mortal; but reviv'd, on Account of that Life that was in it; and the following Operations are sufficient Evidence of its Resurrection.

32. But then if its Resurrection be therefore disbeliev'd, because it is not now seen, observe how the Unbelievers contradict the Nature of things. For 'tis the Property of God himself not to be seen, but to be known by his Works; as we have discours'd above. So that if there were no Effects, they would do well not to believe what they did not see; but if those Effects cry aloud, and demonstrate the thing evidently, why do they voluntarily deny that Revival to Life by the Resurrection, which is so evident in it self? For tho' they have their Minds blinded, yet sure they are not incapable of seeing, even with their outward Senses, the undeniable Power and Divinity of Christ; since a blind Man himself who does not see the Sun, yet does he by feeling the Heat which is derived from it, know that the Sun is above the Horizon. Accordingly, let it be suppos'd in the Case of our Adversaries; who tho' they do not yet believe, being intirely blinded as to the Search of the Truth, yet let them not however upon the Observation of the Power of others that do believe, deny the Divinity of Christ and his Resurrection. For 'tis a plain Case that were Christ still dead, he could not persecute the Dæmons, and despoil the Idols; seeing the Dæmons would not submit to a dead Man. But if they be openly persecuted by his very Name, it must be plain that he is not dead; especially because the Dæmons see things that Men cannot see, and so if he were still dead could know it, and by no Means would submit to him. But now the Case is thus, that what the Wicked don't believe, the Dæmons see, that he is a God, and therefore is it that they fly, and fall down before him saying, “ as they spake when he was in the Body, *We know thee who thou art, the Holy One of God (a).* And again, *Let us alone, what have we to do with thee, thou Son of God? I beseech thee torment me not (b).* While therefore the Dæmons confess him, and his Works bear witness to him every Day, 'tis a clear Case, and let no one be asham'd to own the Truth, “ that our Saviour rais'd his own Body, and that he is the true “ Son of God; being deriv'd from the Father as his proper Word,

(a) *Luke IV. 34.* (b) *Mark V. 7.*

“ and Wisdom, and Power; who in the latter Days took upon him a Body for the Salvation of all, and instructed the whole World concerning the Father; who abolished Death, and bestowed Immortality upon all, by the Promise of the Resurrection; who raised up his own Body as the first Fruits of the same, and exhibited it as a Trophy of his Victory over Death, and its Corruption by the Sign of the Cross.

33. Now since this is the Case, and that the Demonstrations of the Resurrection of his Body, and of the Victory which was obtained over Death by our Saviour are manifest; Go to, Let us reprove the Incredulity of the *Jews*, and the Laughter of the *Greeks*.

For the Reason that makes the *Jews* Unbelievers, and occasions the Laughter of the *Greeks*, seems to be the Ignominy of the Cross, “ and of the Incarnation of God the Word, which they aggravate accordingly. But we shall not be ashamed to give an Answer to both these; especially when we have evident Demonstrations against them. Now for the *Jews* that are Unbelievers, they have Scriptures of their own, which they read, sufficient for their Conviction; since the intire inspired sacred Book does every where cry aloud about this Matter, and the Texts themselves are very manifest. For the Prophets did of old foretell the wonderful Circumstances of a Virgin, and of the Birth which was to come from her, when they said, *Behold a Virgin shall conceive in her Womb, and shall bring forth a Son, and they shall call his Name Emmanuel; which being interpreted is God with us (a).* And Moses, who was indeed Great, and is by them believ'd to be faithful, examined the famous Oracle about the Incarnation of our Saviour, and discovered the Truth of it, and accordingly set it down thus, *A Star shall arise out of Jacob, and a Man out of Israel; and shall smite the Princes of Moab (b).* And again, *(c) How goodly are thy Houses, O Jacob, and thy Tents, O Israel! As the shady Valleys, and as pleasant Gardens by the River side, and as Tabernacles which the Lord has fixed, as Cedar Trees beside the Waters. A Man shall arise out of his Seed, and shall rule over many Nations. And Esaias says again, Before the Child shall know how to call, My Father, or my Mother, he shall receive the Power of Damascus, and the Spoils of Samaria, before the King of the Assyrians (d).* “ So that these Texts foretell that he should appear as a Man. But “ now that he who was to come was to be the Lord of all, they do “ again foreshew, when they say, *Behold the Lord sitteth upon a light Cloud, and shall come into Ægypt, and the Images of Ægypt shall be shaken (e).* And from thence his Father calls him, when he says, *Out of Ægypt have I called my Son (f).*

(a) *Isa.* VII. 14. *Mat.* I. 23. (b) *Numb.* XXIV. 17. (c) *V.* 5.
(d) *Isa.* VIII. 4. (e) —XIX. 1. (f) *Hos.* XI. 1. *Matt.* II. 15.

34. Nor is his Death omitted; but is exceeding clearly denoted in the Divine Scriptures. For they are not afraid to speak even of the very Cause of his Death; that it was not for himself; but that he was to undergo it for the purchasing Immortality and Salvation for all Men: They also describe the lying in wait of the *Jews*, and the Affronts that were offer'd him by them; that so not one of them might be obstinate and deceived. Thus therefore do they speak, *He was a Man that was stricken, and sensible of Infirmary, because his Countenance was turned away; he was despised and not regarded. He bare our Sins, and is in Pain for our Infirmities; and we esteemed him to be in Sorrow, and under a Stroke, and in Affliction; but he was wounded for our Sins, he was under Infirmary for our Transgressions. The Chastisement of our Peace was upon him; and with his Stripes were we healed (a).* Wonder at the Loving-kindness of the Word; that he suffered Reproach for us, that we might be made honourable. For all we, says he, like Sheep have gone astray, every Man has gone astray in his own Way, and the Lord hath deliver'd him up for our Iniquities. And he opened not his Mouth, because of Affliction (b). He was led as a Sheep to the Slaughter, and as a Lamb before his Shearer is dumb, so opened he not his Mouth. In his Humiliation his Judgment was taken away (c). And then lest any one should suppose him a meer Man, on Account of his Sufferings, the Scripture prevents those Suspicions of Men, and declares his Power, and the Difference of his Nature from ours, in the following Words: *But who shall declare his Generation? for his Life is taken from the Earth. He was led to Death for the Transgressions of the People. Moreover, I will give the wicked Men for his Burial, and rich Men for his Death; because he has done no Iniquity, nor was Guile found in his Mouth. And the Lord was willing to purifie him from his Stroke (d).*

35. But now, upon hearing these Predictions concerning his Death, you may perhaps be desirous to learn what concerns his Crucifixion: For even that is not omitted, but is exceeding clearly declar'd by the sacred Writers. For *Moses* does first foretell it, and that with a loud Voice, when he says, *You shall see your Life hanging before your Eyes, and shall by no Means believe (e).* And those Prophets which came after do again bear witness concerning him, when they say, *Now I was like an innocent Lamb, and was led to be slain, and I knew it not; they contrived a wicked Contrivance against me, saying, Let us throw Wood among his Bread, and let us send him away out of the Land of the living (f).* And again, *They pierced my Hands and my Feet; all my Bones were counted; they divided my Garments among them, and upon my Vesture did they cast Lots (g).* Now a Death that is by hanging in the Air, and upon

(a) *Isa.* LII. 3. (b) *V.* 6. (c) *Acts* VIII. 32. (d) *Isa.* LIII. 8. (e) *Dent.* XXVIII. 56. (f) *Jer.* XI. 19. (g) *Psal.* XXI. 17.

Wood, can be no other than the Cross: Nor is there any other Death wherein the Feet and Hands are pierced, but only that of the Cross. Now because all the *Gentiles* begun every where to know God at the Appearance of our Saviour, this was not also omitted by them; but there is mention made ever, of this in the Sacred Writings. For it is said, *There shall be a Root of Jesse; and he that shall rise to reign over the Gentiles upon him shall the Gentiles trust* (a). And these few Texts shall suffice at present for the Demonstration of what has come to pass; altho' all the Scripture is full of Passages that convict the Infidelity of the *Jews*. For who was there ever of those righteous Men, or Holy Prophets, or Patriarchs mention'd in the Divine Scriptures, that had the Generation of his Body of a pure Virgin? or what Woman was sufficient for the Procreation of Men without a Man? Was not *Abel* deriv'd from *Adam*, *Enoch* from *Jared*, *Noe* from *Lamech*, *Abraham* himself from *Thara*, *Isaac* from *Abraham*, and *Jacob* from *Isaac*. Was not *Judas* deriv'd from *Jacob*, and *Moses* and *Aaron* from *Amram*? Was not *Samuel* the Son of *Elkanah*, was not *David* the Son of *Jesse*, was not *Solomon* the Son of *David*, was not *Ezekias* the Son of *Achaz*, was not *Josias* the Son of *Amon*, was not *Esaias* the Son of *Amoz*, was not *Jeremias* the Son of *Hilkias*, was not *Ezekiel* the Son of *Buzi*? Had not they every one a Father, who was the Author of their Nativity? Who then is he that was to be born of a Virgin alone? since the Prophet is very careful in the giving of this Sign. And whose Birth was it that had a Star in Heaven for its Forerunner; which shewed him that was then born to the whole World? For as to *Moses*, when he was born, *He was hidden by his Parents* (b): And for *David*, he was not heard of by his very Neighbours; seeing even *Samuel* himself did not know him, but enquired *whether Jesse had ever another Son* (c). And even *Abraham* was not known by his Neighbours, 'till he was a grown Man. But as for the Nativity of Christ, it was witnessed to not by a Man, but by a Star, which appeared in Heaven; from whence also he descended.

36. And then, who was there of all the Kings that reigned before he were able to call *Father* or *Mother*, or so soon received Trophies as Signs of Victory over his Enemies? Was not *David* thirty Years old when he began to reign (d)? And was not *Solomon* grown a Youth when he began to reign (e) also? Was not *Jons* seven Years old when he came to the Kingdom? and *Josias* that lived afterwards, was not he about seven Years old when he enter'd on the Government (f)? yet could all these certainly at that Age call *Father* or *Mother*. Who

(a) *Isa.* XI. 10. *Rom.* XV. 12. (b) *Exod.* II. 2. *Heb.* XI. 23.
 (c) *1 Sam.* XVI. 11. (d) *2 Sam.* V. 4. (e) *1 Chron.* XXIX. 1.
 (f) *2 Kings* XI. 21.

then can it be that reigned almost before he was born, and took the Spoils of his Enemies? And what King was there, let the *Jews* search and tells us, either in *Israel*, or in *Judah*, upon whom the *Gentiles* placed all their Hope, and had Peace with him? Did not they rather on every Side prove their Adversaries. For while *Jerusalem* stood there was implacable War with them, and they all fought with *Israel*. The *Assyrians* afflicted them; the *Ægyptians* persecuted them; and the *Babylonians* made Incurfions upon them; and, what is wonderful, even the *Syrians*, their near Neighbours, used to make War against them. Did not *David* fight against the *Moabites*, and cut off the *Syrians*, and *Jofias* guard himself against his Neighbours? and was not *Ezekias* afraid of the Pride of *Sennacherib*? Did not *Amalek* make War against *Moses*? And did not the *Amorites* also oppose him? Did not the Inhabitants of *Jericho* place themselves in Array against *Joshua* the Son of *Nun*? And indeed there were no Leagues of Friendship between those Nations and *Israel*. 'Tis then worth our Enquiry who there was on whom the *Gentiles* placed their Hope; for some such Person there must be, since the Prophet could not deceive us. Which of the Holy Prophets, or of the ancienter Patriarchs was there who died upon the Cross, for the Salvation of all Men? or who was it that was wounded and slain for the Health of all? Which of the righteous Men, or of the Kings was it that descended into *Ægypt*, and by whose Descent the Idols of *Ægypt* fell? For *Abraham* indeed went down thither; but still Idolatry obtained over them all; and *Moses* was born there; yet did their erroneous Worship prevail still as much as before.

37. Which of those, I pray, that are mentioned with Honour in the Scripture had his Hands and his Feet pierced through, or indeed was hung upon a piece of Wood, and put to Death for the Salvation of all? For as to *Abraham*, he gave up the Ghost and died in his Bed (a); and both *Isaac* and *Jacob* plucked up their Feet in their Bed, and died (b). *Moses* and *Aaron* died on a Mountain (c), *David* ended his Days in his House, without any lying in wait of the People against him. And tho' he was sought for by *Saul*, yet did he escape without being hurt. *Esaïas* was indeed sawn asunder; but he was not hanged on a piece of Wood. *Jeremias* was abused, but he did not die by any ones Condemnation. *Ezekiel* was a Sufferer also; yet not for the sake of the People, but on Account of the Signification he made of what Miseries were to come upon them. Besides, these, tho' they did suffer, yet were they but Men, like all other Men, as to the Likeness of their Nature: But he whom the Scriptures speak of as one "that was to suffer for all Men, is "not describ'd as a meer Man, but as the Life of all; altho' he be "like to Men in his Nature. For, says he, *Ye shall see your Life*

(a) *Gen.* XXV. 8. (b) — XXXV. 29. (c) — XLIX. 33.

hanging before your Eyes (a). And, Who shall declare his Generation (b)? For as to the Generation of all the other Holy Men, any one may know it; and may trace it from its Original, who, and from whom every one of them was; but for his Generation who was Life, the Divine Oracles describe it to be such as cannot be declared. Who then can this be, concerning whom the divine Scriptures speak thus? or what great Person is this, that the Prophets foretel such strange things about? For certain, he can be no other Person but the common Saviour of all Men, God the Word, our Lord Jesus Christ. For he is the Person who proceeded from a Virgin, "and appear'd a Man upon the Earth, and who had such a Generation according to the Flesh as none can declare. For there is no one that is able to shew you his Father, " according to the Flesh; since " his Body was not deriv'd from a Man, but from a Virgin alone. As therefore any one may make a Genealogy for David and Moses, and all the Patriarchs; so can no one declare the Generation of our Saviour, according to the Flesh, from a Man. He it is who made a Star to be a Sign of the " Nativity of his Body. For it was " fit that the Word which came down from Heaven, should have also " a Sign from Heaven. It was fit that when the King of the Creation came, he should be remarkably known by the whole Creation. 'Tis true, he was born in Judea; yet did Men from Persia come to worship him. This is the Person who before his bodily Appearance had obtain'd the Victory over the opposite Dæmons, and rear'd Trophies of his Conquest of Idolatry. And thence have all that are called out of the Gentiles cast off the Customs of their Forefathers, and the Atheistical Worship of Idols; and do thenceforward place their Hope in Christ, and dedicate themselves to him: Which thing we may see with our own Eyes. For at no other Time was there any Period put to the Egyptian Idolatry, than that when the Lord of all " was carried as it were on a Cloud, and went down in " a Body thither, and abolished the Deceit of the Idols; while he converted all Men to himself, and by him to the Father. This is he who was crucified in the Sight of the Sun, as a Witness; and of the Creation, and of those that inflicted Death upon him: And by his Death it is that Salvation comes to all, and the whole Creation is deliver'd. This is he who is the Life of all, " who deliver'd " up his Body to Death, a Ransom for the Salvation of all, altho' the Jews do not believe in him.

38. For if they think this Evidence not to be sufficient, let them, however, yield to the Testimony of those Oracles which themselves receive. For of whom do the Prophets say, *I was made manifest to those that enquired not for me: I was found of them that asked not after me. I said, Behold, I am he, to a Nation that did not call upon*

(a) Deut. XXVIII. 56. (b) Isa. LIII. 8.

my Name. I have stretched out my Hands to a disobedient and gain-saying People (a). Who then, may any one say to the Jews, is he that is made manifest? For if it be the Prophet, let them tell us when he was bidden, that he might afterward appear. And what sort of Person was this Prophet, who was made manifest out of Obscurity, and that stretched out his Hands upon the Cross? Certainly none of the righteous Men; "but the Word of God alone: He "that is of an immortal Nature, and yet appear'd in a Body, and suffer'd for all. Nay, if this Evidence be not still sufficient for them, let them for Shame not deny that which arises from such other Arguments as are visibly and plainly convincing. For the Scripture says, *Be strong, ye weak Hands and feeble Knees. Be comforted, ye that are fearful in your Mind. Be strong; be not afraid. Behold our God repays Judgment: He will come himself, and save us. Then shall the Eyes of the Blind be opened; and the Ears of the Deaf shall hear; then shall the Lame leap as an Hart; and the Tongue of the Stutterer shall speak plain* (b). What then are they able to say in this Case? Or how is it possible they should have Confidence to bear up against it? For this Prophecy "declares that God should sojourn here; and the Signs do determine the Time of his coming: For then it is they foresaw that the Blind should recover their Sight, and the Lame walk, and the Deaf hear, and the Tongue of the Stammerers should speak plainly, when that Appearance of God was to be. When was it then that these Signs were done in Israel? or when was any such thing done in Judah? Naaman the Leper was cleansed; but no deaf Man heard; nor did a lame Man walk. Elias and Eliseus raised one that was dead; but no blind Man that was so from his Birth recovered his Sight. To raise a dead Man is really a great Miracle; but not so wonderful as what was done by our Saviour. Now if the Scripture is not silent as to the Leper, and the dead Son of the Widow, it would also have been told us if any such thing had happen'd as the Lame's walking, and the Blind's Recovery of his Sight. Since therefore there is a perfect Silence as to these Cases in the Scriptures, 'tis plain that those Miracles did not happen before. When therefore did those things come to pass, "but "when the Word of God came into a Body? And when did he come, but when the Lame walked, and the Stammerers spake plainly, and the Deaf heard, and those that were blind from their Birth recover'd their Sight? For on that Account was it that those Jews who saw what then happen'd, said, that they never saw it on that Fashion. And, *From the beginning of the World has it not been heard that any one has open'd the Eyes of one that was born blind. If this Man were not of God he could do nothing* (c.)

(a) *Isa. LXV. 1.* (b) *Isa. XXXV. 3.* (c) *John IX. 32.*

39. But perhaps they themselves will not be able to oppose what is plain; nor deny that these things are so written; but will say they expect them hereafter, and will affirm with great Assurance, that God the Word is not yet come. For they hunt up and down for Evasions; and do not blush when they so impudently deny plain Fact. But as to this Matter, they will be principally confuted, not by us but by *Daniel* the Wise; who foretells the present Time, and the Divine Advent of our Saviour, when he says, *Seventy Weeks are shortned upon thy People, and upon the holy City, to put an End to Sin, and seal up Sins, and to blot out Iniquities, and to make Reconciliation for Iniquities, and to bring in everlasting Righteousness, and to seal up the Vision and the Prophet, and to anoint the Holy of Holies. And thou shalt know and understand after the going forth of the Word to have an Answer return'd, and to build Jerusalem until Christ the Captain (a).* Probably in other Cases they may be able to invent Evasions, and put off the Scripture to Times still future: But what is it that it can be imagin'd they can have the Face to say to this? where Christ is plainly denoted; "and the Person to be anointed" is not describ'd as a meer Man, but as the Holy of Holies; and *Jerusalem* is established until his coming, and then is the Prophet and the Vision put an End to in *Israel*. Of old Time *David*, and *Solomon*, and *Ezekias* were anointed; but then at the same time *Jerusalem* and the Holy Place stood; and the Prophets *Gad*, and *Asaph*, and *Nathan*, and after them *Esaias*, and *Hosea*, and *Amos*, and other Prophets prophesied. And besides, those very Persons that were anointed were called Holy Men, and not the Holy of Holies. But then, if they alledge the Captivity, and say, that on that Account *Jerusalem* once was not, what can they say as to the Prophets? For when formerly the People went down into *Babylon* they had there *Daniel* and *Jeremy*; *Ezekiel* also, and *Haggai*, and *Zacharias* did still prophesie.

40. The *Jews* therefore do but trifle when they put off the present Time. For when did the Prophet or the Vision cease from *Israel*, but when Christ, the Holy of Holies, came? 'Tis also a Sign and a mighty Demonstration of the Appearance of God the Word, that *Jerusalem* is not now standing, and that no Prophet arises; nor is there any Vision among them. And this for very good Reason. For when he that was foretold is come, what farther need was there for any to foretell his Coming? and when the Truth is come, what farther need was there for the Shadow? For on this Account it was that the Prophets prophesied until He should come that was Righteousness it self, and he that was to redeem the Sins of all Men. On this Account also did *Jerusalem* stand so long that they might there contemplate the Types of the Truth before-hand.

(a) *Dan. IX. 24, &c.*

Wherefore when the Holy of Holies was come, there was good Reason that the *Vision and Prophecy should be sealed up*, and an End be put to the Kingdom of *Jerusalem*. For so long were Kings appointed among them until the Holy of Holies was anointed. And *Jacob* prophesied that the Kingdom of the *Jews* was to stand till he came, when he says, *A Prince shall not fail out of Judah, nor a Ruler from his Loins, until that come which is reposed for him; and he is the Expectation of the Gentiles* (a). Whence it was that our Saviour himself cry'd, and said, *The Law and the Prophets prophesied until John* (b). If therefore there be now among the *Jews* either a King, or a Prophet, or a Vision, they do well to deny that Christ is come; but if there be neither King, nor Vision; but all Prophecy is sealed up for the time to come; and the City and Temple are taken; Why are they so wicked, and do so greatly transgress, as to see what is done, but to deny Christ that does it? And why is it that when they see the *Gentiles* leave their Idols, and have their Hope in the God of *Israel*, through Christ, that they deny Christ, who was made of the root of *Jesse* according to the Flesh, and who is to reign hereafter? For indeed if the *Gentiles* worshipped any other God, and did not own the God of *Abraham*, and of *Isaac*, and of *Jacob*, and of *Moses*, they had had a fair Pretence again that God was not yet come; but if the *Gentiles* worship that God that gave the Law to *Moses*, and the Promises to *Abraham*, and whose Word the *Jews* treated ignominiously, why do they not perceive, or rather why do they wilfully overlook this, that the Lord who was "prophesied of by the Scriptures has shewed himself to the World, and has appeared bodily therein, as the" Scripture said, *The Lord God has appeared to us* (c). And again, *He sent forth his Word and healed them* (d). And again, *It was not an Ambassador, nor an Angel, but the Lord himself that saved them* (e). Now this is like the Case of one that was distracted, who tho' he saw the Earth enlightened by the Sun, should yet deny that it was the Sun that enlightened it. For what is there that he whom they expect can do when he comes more than this Person has done? Will he call the *Gentiles*? but they are called already. Will he put an End to the Prophet, and the King, and the Vision? this is already done. Will he confute the Atheism of the Idols? this has been confuted and condemned already. Will he abolish Death? It is abolished already. What therefore is there that is not done, which the Christ was to do? or what is there remaining which is unfulfilled, that the *Jews* may have any Reason to please themselves in their Infidelity? But if still, as we have seen in Fact, there be neither a King, nor a Prophet, nor a Vision among them, but all the Earth is full of the Knowledge of God,

(a) *Gen.* XLIX. 10. (b) *Mat.* XI. 13. (c) *Psal.* CXVII. 27.
 (d) *Mat.* XVI. 20. (e) *Isa.* LXIII. 9. and

and the *Gentiles* have left their Atheistical Idolatry, and do now fly to the God of *Abraham*, through the Word, our Lord Jesus Christ, it must be plain even to those that are exceeding impudent that Christ is already come, and that he has illuminated all Men universally with his Light, and has instructed them in the true and divine Doctrine concerning his Father. Any one may therefore very justly confute the *Jews* from these and many other Texts of the Divine Scriptures.

41. But then one cannot but wonder at the *Greeks* laughing at things no way deserving to be laugh't at; while they are themselves full of their own Shame; which they do not see in their own Idols of Wood and Stone. But since we are in no want of Demonstrations, go to, Let us put them to Shame by a rational Confutation; Principally from such Arguments as depend on what we our selves see. For what Absurdity is there, or what that is worthy of Laughter among us, excepting it " be this Doctrine alone, that we " say the Word was manifested in Flesh? But even these must confess that this Procedure was not absurd, if they will really speak the Truth. If therefore they deny that there is any such Person as the Word of God, they object to no Purpose, and laugh at what they do not understand. But if they confess there is such a Person as the Word of God; and that he is the Governor of the Universe; and that the Father created the Creation by him; and that the whole World is illuminated, and is fruitful, and exists by his Providence; and that he so reigns over all things that he may be known by the Works of his Providence, and the Father by him; consider I beseech you whether they do not rather unawares expose themselves to be laugh't at. The *Greek* Philosophers say the World is a great Body; and they say true. For it self, as well as its Parts, are, as we see, expos'd to our Senses. " If therefore the " Word of God be in the World, which is a Body; and enters in- " to the whole, and into all its Parts; what Wonder or Absurdity " is it if we say that he also enter'd into Man? For if it be utterly " absurd that he should be in a Body, it must be absurd also that " he should enter into the Universe, and that he should enlighten and move all things by his Providence. For the Universe is a Body, but if it be fit that he should enter into the World, and should be discover'd in the whole, it must be " fit also for him to appear in a " Human Body; and that it should be enlightened and operate " thereby; for Humane Race is also a Part of the Universe. And if it be dishonourable that a Part should become his Instrument, in order to the Knowledge of the Deity, it would be most absurd for him to discover himself as present in the whole World.

42. " For as while the whole Body is acted and enlightened by " a Man, he would be thought very foolish who affirm'd it absurd " that the Human Virtue should be even in the Toe; because when " he has granted him to pervade and act in the whole, he yet denies

" nies that he is in a part; so he who grants and believes that the
 " Word of God is in the whole World, and that the Universe is en-
 " lighten'd and moved by him, cannot esteem it at all " absurd that
 " one Humane Body should also be moved and enlightened by him.
 " But then, if they therefore esteem it a dishonourable thing for
 " us to speak of the Appearance of our Saviour in Man, because
 the Humane Race is what was made and deriv'd from nothing, let
 them take care lest they banish him out of the Creation. For even
 that was brought into Being out of nothing by the Word. Now if
 notwithstanding the Creation was thus made, yet it is not absurd
 that the Word should be in it; " certainly 'tis no more absurd that
 " he should also be in Man. For what Notions soever they enter-
 tain about the whole, they must needs entertain the same about a
 Part; since, as I have already said; Man is a Part of the whole.
 Wherefore it is by no Means " dishonourable that the Word should
 " be in Man, and that all things should be enlightened, and mo-
 ved, and live by him, and in him; as their own Writers say also:
 That, *In him we live, and move, and have our Being* (a). What
 then is it at last that we say which is worthy of Laughter, by " af-
 " firming that the Word makes use of that for its Instrument to
 " manifest it self withal, in which the Word is; indeed if he were
 " not in it, he could not make use of it: But if we have already
 granted that he is in the whole, and in the several Parts, what Ab-
 surdity is there that he makes himself manifest in such Parts where
 he is? For as by his Power he enters into every Part, and into all
 things, and does freely vouchsafe to order all things, and so may,
 if he pleases, make use of the Sun, or the Moon, or the Heaven, or
 the Earth, or the Waters, or the Fire to manifest himself withal,
 without any Absurdity, so may one say without Absurdity he may
 " make use of a Voice, and thereby manifest himself and his
 Father: Since he at once contains all things, and is with all
 things and in the several Parts themselves, and after an invis-
 ble Manner manifests himself therein. Accordingly it can be no
 Absurdity if he who orders all things, and enlivens the Universe,
 and is desirous to make himself known by Men, " makes
 " use of the Body of Man for the Manifestation of the Truth,
 " and the Acknowledgement of his Father. For Humane Na-
 " ture is a Part of the Universe; and as the Mind, which is in the
 " whole Body, is discover'd by a Part of the Body, I mean the
 " Tongue; and yet who is there that will say that the Sub-
 " stance of the Mind is thereby diminished? So is it with the Word,
 " which is in all things; when it makes use of a Humane Instru-
 " ment; which thing has certainly nothing in it that is disho-
 " nourable. For if, as I have already said, it be dishonourable for

(a) *Acts* XVII. 28.

“ him to make use of a Body as his Instrument, it must be also dishonourable for him to be in the whole World.

43. But if they still ask why he did not make himself manifest by some more excellent Parts of the Creation, and why he did not make use of the Sun, or the Moon, or the Stars, or the Fire, or the Air, let them understand that the Lord did not come to make a Shew of himself, but to heal, and to teach those that were in Distress. Indeed if a Person designs to make a Shew of himself only, he needs only appear and astonish the Spectators; but if he means to heal, and to teach; he must not only come among us, but appear so as may be for the Advantage of those that stand in need of him, and so as those that want him can bear him; lest by the Magnificence of his Appearance, exceeding the Necessities of those that are in Distress, he disturb those that stand in need of him, and so this Appearance of God becomes of no Advantage to them. And indeed no other of the Creatures was wander'd from their Course, as to their Notions concerning God, but only Man; certain'y neither the Sun, nor the Moon, nor the Heaven, nor the Stars, nor the Water, nor the Air had changed their natural Order, but by the Knowledge of that Word who was their Creator and their King they continue in their former State; while Men, alone rejecting what was really good, framed to themselves after a while things that had no real Existence, and ascribed that Honour and Acknowledgement which they owed to God, unto Demons and Men by Statues of Stone. Whereupon he acted justly; and because it was not agreeable to the Goodness of God to overlook so great a Crime, that they could not know him even while he ordered and governed the Affairs of the whole World, “ he took to himself a Part of the whole, a Humane Body, as his Instrument, and came into it, that since they could not know him as he was present in the whole; at least they might not be ignorant of him as present in a Part; and since they were not able to look upon his invisible Power, they might at least collect his Existence, and contemplate him by the Method of Resemblance: For they being Men would sooner and more nearly know his Father by the Means of “ a Body like unto their own, and by those divine Works therein performed; I mean when they considered that the Works he performed were not the Works of a Man, but of a God. “ And if they esteem it absurd that the Word should make himself known by Bodily Operations, they must esteem it also absurd that he should be known by the Works of the Universe. For as he is so in the Creation, as not to be a Partaker of any Part of the Creation, but as one of whose Influence all things are Partakers; so does he after such a Manner “ make use of his Body for an Instrument, while he does not partake of any Part of the Body, but does rather “ himself sanctifie the Body. For if *Plato*, who was so admired among the *Greeks*, could say, that *He who produced the World when* he

he saw it tost as with a Tempest, and in Danger of sinking into Disorder, as he sits at the Helm of the Soul, brings it Succour, and corrects all its Errors (a); How is what we say incredible? "that when Humane Nature was gone astray, the Word took Possession of it, and appeared as a Man, that he might save it from its dangerous State, by his governing Power and Goodness.

44. However, they will probably condescend to all this, out of meer Shame; but still they will pretend to say, that when God was desirous to instruct and to save Men, he ought only to have done "it by his meer Will, and not permit his Word to touch a Body, as he did of old when he made things out of nothing. But in answer to this Objection of theirs, one may reasonably say, that of old, when there was not any thing that had a Being any where, there was no want of any thing but of his Will and Good-pleasure, for the Creation of the Universe. But when Man was made, and there was Occasion to heal not things which did not yet exist, but things that were already made, it was but a natural Consequence that the Physician and Saviour should come among the Creatures that were in Being, that he might heal them. Accordingly, "he "was made Man; and on this Account did he make use of the "Body of Man as of an Instrument. For if this was not proper, after what Manner would you have had the Word, when he design'd to make use of some Instrument, to come? or whence would you have him take such an Instrument, but from what was already made, and stood in need of his Divinity, on Account of its Resemblance? For it was not things not yet made that stood in need of Salvation, which might have been satisfied by a single Command, but it was Man, who was already-made, that was corrupted and destroyed. "Good Reason was there then for the Words making use of a Humane Instrument, and extending himself to all "things. But farther, this is also to be known, that the Corruption which has happen'd was not out of the Body, but adher'd "thereto; and so there was a Necessity that Life should adhere "thereto instead of Corruption; that as Death was in the Body, "so therein might Life be also. If then Death had been out of "the Body, it would have been fit that Life also should have been "out of it also; but if Death adhered to the Body, as present "therewith, and did thereupon get the Dominion over it, there "was a Necessity that Life should also adhere to the Body; that so "the Body by putting on Life might get clear of Corruption. For "otherwise if the Word had been out of the Body, and not in it, "Death might indeed have been very naturally conquer'd by him, "seeing Death could not prevail against Life, yet still Corruption "had continued to adhere to the Body. On this Account our

(a) *In Politic.*

“ Saviour did with good Reason put on a Body, that so when the
 “ Body adher’d to Life, it might no longer, as mortal, continue under Death; but, as cloathed with Immortality, might rise again, and afterward continue immortal. For since it had once put on Corruption, it had not risen again unless it had put on Life. Again, Death could not appear by it self, but only in a Body; and therefore was it that he put on a Body, that upon the Discovery of Death in the Body he might blot it out. For how could the Lord be demonstrated to be Life, unless he had quickned what was mortal? Now this is the Case of Straw, which is naturally liable to be consumed by Fire; For if any one keeps the Fire from it, the Straw indeed is not burnt; yet does the Straw continue Straw still, and is still afraid of the threatning of the Fire; for Fire is naturally apt to consume it. But now, if any one wraps this Straw into a great deal of the Plant *Amiantus*, which is said to have an Antipathy against Fire, the Straw is no longer afraid of the Fire, as being secur’d from it by its unflammable Covering. And one may say this is the very Case also as to the Body, with regard to Death. If Death had only been prohibited by his Command, the Body had still been nevertheless mortal and corruptible, according to the Nature of Bodies; “ but that this might be prevented, it put on the incorporeal Word of God; and so it is no longer afraid of Death, or “ of Corruption; as having Life for its covering, and Corruption “ being done away thereby.

45. “ Wherefore, in Consequence of this, the Word of God “ took a Body, and made use of a Humane Instrument, that he “ might both quicken the Body, and also that as he is made known “ by his Works in the Creation, so might he operate in Man, and “ shew himself every where, and not leave any thing destitute of his “ Divinity and Knowledge. For I do but repeat what I said before, that our Saviour did this to this End, that as he fills all things every where, and is present with them, so he may replenish all things with the Knowledge of himself; according to what the Divine Scripture says, *The whole Earth is filled with the Knowledge of the Lord (a)*. For if any one looks up to Heaven, he sees its good Order: If he is not able to look to Heaven, but only looks down upon Men, he sees his Incomparable Power towards Men manifested by his Works, and perceives that he alone, as God the Word, is among Men; if any one avoids the Dæmons, and is afraid of them, he sees this Person driving them away, and concludes that he is their Master: If any one be immers’d in the Waters, and is ready to think them of a divine Nature, as the *Ægyptians* worship them, he sees the same changed by him, and perceives that the

(a) *Isa.* XI. 9.

Lord is their Creator : Or if any one descends into the invisible World, and is afraid of those Heroes that are descended thither, as of Gods, he still sees his Resurrection, and the Victory he has obtained over Death, and concludes that even among them Christ is alone the true Lord and God. For our Lord touched all Parts of the Creation, and delivered all things from all sorts of Deceit, and confuted them, as *Paul* says, *Having spoiled Principalities and Powers, he triumphed over them on the Cross (a)* ; that no one might any longer be deceived, but might discover the true Word of God every where. For so is Man shut up on every Side, and every where, I mean in Heaven, in the invisible World, in Man, upon Earth, and he sees the Divinity of the Word so display'd, that he cannot be impos'd on any longer about God ; but he worships him alone ; and by him he perfectly knows the Father. With these Reasons then, as I think, the *Greeks* may well be put to Shame by us, and that by the strength of their Evidence. But if they do not esteem these Reasonings sufficient for their Conviction, at least let the Matters of Fact which all Men see with their Eyes persuade their Assent to what we say.

46. When did Men begin to leave off the Worship of Idols, but from that Time that the true Word of God came among Men ? And when did the *Gracian* and all the other Predictions cease and come to nothing, but when our Saviour made himself manifest as far as this Earth ? When was it also that those whom the Poets styl'd Gods and Heroes, were convicted, as being no better than mortal Men, but since our Lord obtained a Trophy of his Victory over Death, “ and by raising that Body which he took upon him “ from the dead, preserv'd it incorruptible ? When was it that the “ Deceit of the Demons and their mad Pranks were despised, but “ when the Power of God, that Word which was the Lord of all “ things, and of these in particular, condescended to appear upon “ Earth for the sake of the Weakness of Men ? When did the magick Art and its Schools begin to be trampled upon, but when the “ Divine Appearance of the Word was manifested among Men ? And “ when, in general, did the Wisdom of the *Greeks* appear to be Foolishness, but when the true Wisdom of God made himself manifest upon Earth ? For in old Time the whole World and every Place went astray by the Worship of Idols : Nor did Men believe any thing else to be Gods but their Idols. But now Men leave off their Superstition, as to Idols, in all Parts of the World, and fly to Christ, and adore him as God, and do also by him know the Father, whom they had been ignorant of before. And this is the more wonderful, since there were such various and innumerable Objects of Worship, and every Place had its own peculiar Idol, and he that was

(a) *Colos. II. 15.*

called the God of the Place, was not able to extend his Power beyond the Neighbourhood, or persuade those that liv'd hard by to worship him; nay could scarce preserve his own worship within his own Limits. For no one worshipp'd his Neighbour's God, but every body took care of his own Idol; as supposing him to be the Lord of all. It is Christ alone that is one and the same Object of worship with all Men every where; Christ having brought that about which the Weakness of the Idols never could; I mean to persuade those that live near one another to join in their Worship; he having persuaded not those that live hard by only, but intirely the whole World to worship him, and him alone, as their Lord, and by him God his Father.

47. And indeed in old Time the whole World was replenish'd with the Cheats of Divination; and the Imaginations of Men were brought to admire the Oracles at *Delpbi*, and *Dodona*, in *Bzotia*, and *Lycia*, and *Libya*, and *Aegypt*, and among the *Cabiri*, and that of *Pythia*. But now, since Christ is every where preached, the Madness of these Men is ceased; and they have no Body now to afford them Divinations any longer. And indeed the Dæmons did then appear to Men, and seiz'd upon Fountains, or Rivers, or Images of Wood or Stone; and by those Means did they astonish foolish Men with their magick Tricks. But now, upon the divine Appearance of the Word, such Imaginations are ceased. For if a Man does but make use of the Sign of the Cross alone, he drives away their Impostures. Formerly indeed Men esteem'd *Jupiter*, and *Saturn*, and *Apollo*, and the Heroes, whom the Poets talk so much of, as Gods; and they went astray in their Worship. But now that our Saviour has appear'd among Men, they have been detected and found to be mortal Men; and Christ is alone proved to be God, the Word of the true God. Now what can any one say as to that Art magick which was held in such Admiration among them? Why truly, that it obtain'd and exerted it self before the Advent of the Word, among the *Aegyptians*, and *Chaldeans*, and *Indians*, and amazed the Spectators: But this Art was convicted, and intirely put an End to by the Advent of Truth, and by the Appearance of the Word. But then, as to the Wisdom of the *Greeks*, and the Boasting of the Philosophers, I suppose no Body can stand in need of any Discourse of ours, when this thing, as strange as it is, is yet visible to all, that while the wise Men among the *Greeks* wrote so much, and yet were able to persuade almost none among their next Neighbours to believe an immortal State, and to lead a virtuous Life, Christ alone has persuaded very numerous Societies of Men, by a few plain Discourses, and by Men not at all eloquent, to despise Death, to set their Minds upon things immortal, and to overlook things temporary, and have regard to things eternal; and to esteem earthly Glory as nothing, but instead thereof to value only that which is heavenly.

48. Now

48. Now what we here say is not bare Words, but has the Testimony of Experience, and of real Truth to attest thereto. For let him that pleases come hither, and consider the Demonstration of the Force of Vertue in the Virgins devoted to Christ, and those young Persons that have consecrated their Virginitie to Purity; and the certain Assurance of Immortality in that large Company of Martyrs which have suffered for him. Nay, let him that has a mind to try the Certainty of what we have said in the Case of the Appearances of Dæmons, and the Impostures of Divination, and the strange Tricks of Magick, make use of that Sign of the Cross which is laught at by them, and only name the Name of Christ, and he will see how thereby the Dæmons fly away, Divination ceases, and all the Arts of Magick and Witchcraft are abolished. Who then, and how great a Person must this Christ be, who obscures and abolishes all these things every where, by his Name and his Presence? Who alone is too powerful for them all, and replenishes the whole World with his Doctrine? Let those *Greeks* who loudly laugh at him, and do not blush when they do so, make the Answer. For if he be but a Man, how can one Man be too hard for the Power of all those Gods, and by his Power convict them as what have no Being at all? But if they say he was himself a Magician, how is it then possible that all the Art Magick should be so far from being establish'd that it was utterly abolish'd by him? For had he only overcome such Magicians as were meer Men, or had been too hard for only some one of them, he might be suppos'd by them to exceed the rest only in a greater Degree of the same Art. But if his Cross obtain'd the Victory universally, over the whole magick Art, and that by his very Name, it must be thence plain that our Saviour was not a Magician: Since those Dæmons which are invoked by other Magicians fly away from him, as from their Lord. Let these *Greeks* then who make it their main Business to laugh at him, tell us who he was. Perhaps they'll say that he was a Dæmon; and that thence it was that he was so powerful. But if they say this, they will deserve to be laught at themselves, as already confuted by the former Demonstrations: For how can he be a Dæmon who drives away Dæmons? For if he had barely driven away some Dæmons, he might with somewhat of Probability have been thought to have his Power from the *Prince of the Dæmons*, and thereby to overcome the inferiour sorts of them; as the *Jews* said to him, when they would abuse him (a). But if all the mad Pranks of the Dæmons are at an End, and are persecuted by his very Name, it must be plain that they are in an Error as to this Matter, and that our Lord and Saviour Christ is not any Dæmoniacal Power, as they may imagine. Wherefore if our Saviour be neither a meer Man,

(a) *Mat. XII. 24, &c.*

nor a Magician, nor any sort of Dæmon, but has by his Divinity abolish'd and obscur'd the Suspensions of the Poets, the Imaginations of Dæmons, and the Wisdom of the *Greeks*, it is plain, and ought to be confess'd by all, that he is truly the Son of God, the Word, and Wisdom, and Power of the Father. For it hence appears that his Works are not the Works of Man, but above all Humane Power, and it will be hence discovered that they are really the Works of God, both by the Nature of the Facts themselves, and by the Comparison of them with those that are done among Men.

49. For what Man was there ever that compos'd " himself a " Body of a Virgin alone (a)? or what Man was there ever that cured such Diseases as the common Lord of all? Who supplied what was deficient from the Nativity, and made one to see that was blind from his Birth? *Æsculapius* was made a God by the Heathen, because of his Skill in Physick, and because he discovered Herbs that were proper for distemper'd Bodies. Not that he formed those Herbs out of the Earth, but that he discovered them by his natural Sagacity. But how is this comparable to what was done by our Saviour? who did not cure a Wound, but framed the Body at first, and when it was disordered restor'd it again. *Hercules* is worshipp'd as a God by the *Greeks*, because he fought against Men like himself, and destroyed wild Beasts by his Subtilty. What is this to the Works that were done by the Word? who drove away Diseases, and Dæmons, and Death it self from Men. *Bacchus* is honour'd by them, because he was an Instructor of Men in Drunkenness; while he that is really the Saviour and Lord of all, and who taught Sobriety, is laugh'd at by them. But then, supposing we wave all this, what have they to compare with the other wonderful Works of his Divinity? At the Death of what other Person was the Sun darken'd, and the Earth shaken? For certainly Men die still at this Day, and have died all along from the beginning. When did any such wonderful thing happen to them? " Or, to pass by " the Acts that belong to him, while he was in the Body, and to " recollect those that happen'd after the Resurrection of his Body, who is there of all Men that ever liv'd whose Doctrine did without any Variation prevail universally from one End of the Earth to the other? So far I mean, that his Worship spread it self suddenly thro' all the Earth. Or wherefore is it, in Case " Christ is a Man, " as they pretend, and not God the Word, that his Worship is not obstructed by their Gods, that it might not spread it self into those Regions where they are? while on the contrary, this Word himself does by his Advent and Doctrine put an End to their Worship, and puts their vain Shews to Shame.

(a) *Constitut. passim.*

50. There have been many Kings and Tyrants on the Earth before this Person ; and History assures us that there have been many wise Men and Magicians among the *Chaldeans*, and *Egyptians*, and *Indians* ; what one of these, I don't mean after his Death, but while he was alive, was ever indu'd with so great Power as to fill the whole Earth with his Doctrine, and to instruct such vast Multitudes to leave their superstitious worship of Idols, as our Saviour has brought over to himself from those Idols? The Philosophers among the *Greeks* have written many things with a Shew of Probability, and in artificial Language ; what great Effect of this can they shew, that can be compared with the Efficacy of the Cross of Christ? 'Tis true, their Sophisms had what look'd plausible till they died. But then, what Advantage soever they had while they were alive, and thence able to support their Cause, they had withal Disputes one with another ; and were still quarrelling and contriving one against another : While this Word of God, which is indeed a very surprizing thing, did by teaching his Doctrines in meaner Language, obscure the ablest of those Sophists ; and at once abolished their Doctrines, by persuading Men over to himself, and filled his own Church. Nor is this Circumstance less admirable, " that by condescending to die as a Man, he overcame the great boasting of the wise Men about their Idols. For what Man was there ever whose Death drove away Dæmons? or whose Death were the Dæmons ever so much afraid of as of Christ's? For where the Name of our Saviour is but named, thence do all the Dæmons fly away. And where did any one so deliver the Souls of Men from their natural Passions, that thereupon the Fornicators became chaste ; the Murderers no longer made use of their Swords ; and those that were before timorous grew courageous? And certainly, what Man could ever persuade the *Barbarians*, and those scattered about the Nations, to lay aside their Madness, and to think of Peace, but only the Faith of Christ, and the Sign of the Cross? what other Person did ever give Men such Assurance of Immortality as the Cross of Christ, and the Resurrection of his Body? For altho' the *Greeks* have been universally given to lying, yet have they not been able so much as to frame a Story of the Resurrection of their Idols, as not at all satisfied themselves whether the Body could at all exist again after Death. On which Account they seem to deserve our Approbation ; since by this Reasoning they confuted their own Idolatry, as a weak thing ; and yielded this Power as peculiar to Christ ; that so he might by this Means be demonstrated to all Men to be the Son of God.

51. What Man then did ever either after Death, or otherwise while he was alive, teach such things as we do about Virginity? And did not rather own that this Virtue was impossible to be observed by Men? But Christ our Saviour, and the King of the World, had so great Power in this Doctrine about Virginity, that even lit-

The Children, who had not arriv'd at the legal Age, have undertaken the Observance of it, while the Law does not directly require such a Vow. What Man was there ever that could bear to take such long Journeys as to go even to the *Scythians*, *Aethiopians*, or *Persians*, or *Armenians*, or *Goths*, or to those that are said to inhabit beyond the Ocean, or to those that live beyond *Hyrkania*, or even to the *Agyptians*, and *Chaldeans*, which are much addicted to Magick, and are superstitious to an unnatural Degree, and of Manners wild, and then to preach about Virtue and Sobriety, and against the Worship of Idols; as the Lord of all has done, who is the Power of God, our Lord Jesus Christ; who indeed not only preached by his Disciples to them, but persuaded them also inwardly to lay aside their wild Manners, and no longer to worship the Gods of their Fathers, but to acknowledge him, and by him to worship the Father. For in old Time the *Greeks* and *Barbarians*, who were Idolaters, made War one with another, and were cruel to their very Relations. For one could then pass through no Land nor Sea without a Sword in ones Hand; because of the implacable Enmity which they bare one against another. For indeed the whole Conduct of their Life was managed by Arms; and a Sword was to them instead of a Staff, and all other Support: Altho', as I said before, they worshipped Idols, and offered Sacrifices to Demons. Nor could these Persons that were thus addicted be at all better instructed by this Superstition of Idolatry. But when once they were converted to the Doctrine of Christ, they did then, to a surprizing degree, like Men really pricked at their Hearts (a), lay aside that savage way of murdering one another, and were no longer addicted to War; but thereafter all that tended to Peace among them and to Friendship became most agreeable.

52. Who was it then that did this? or who was it that reduc'd those that hated one another to Peace; but the beloved Son of the Father, the common Saviour of all, Jesus Christ, who out of his Love underwent all his Sufferings for our Salvation. For indeed there was an ancient Prophecy concerning this Peace which was to be procured by him; when the Scripture says, *They shall cut their Swords in pieces for Ploughs, and their Spears for Sickles; and Nation shall not take up Sword against Nation; and they shall not learn War any more* (b). And such a State is by no Means incredible; seeing the Case is such already, that those *Barbarians* who have a Savageness of Manners as it were natural to them, and do continue to worship their former Idols, still rage one against another, and suffer not an Hour to pass without some use of their Swords. But when they hearken to the Doctrine of Christ, they presently leave off War, and betake themselves to Husbandry; Instead of arming

(a) *Acts* II. 37. (b) *Isa.* II. 4.

their Hands with Swords, they stretch them out in Prayer; and in general, they do after that instead of fighting one against another, arm themselves against the Devil, and against the Dæmons; and overcome them by Sobriety, and other Virtues of the Mind. Now this is an Indication of the Divinity of our Saviour, that what Men have not been able to learn by their Idols, that have they learned by Him. And indeed he is himself no small Demonstration of the Inability and Nullity of the Idols. For the Dæmons being conscious of their own Weakness, did on that Account set Men formerly upon fighting with one another; lest upon leaving off their mutual Contentions they should betake themselves to fight against those Dæmons. For indeed those who are Christ's Disciples, and who do not therefore fight one against another, set themselves in Array both by their Course of Life, and by their virtuous Actions, against the Dæmons; persecuting them, and deriding their Leader, the Devil; and this is done by Sobriety in Youth, by Patience under Temptations, by Hardiness in Labours, by Long-suffering in Injuries, and by despising the spoiling of their Goods; and, what is very wonderful, even to the Contempt of Death, and enduring Martyrdom for Christ.

53. And that I may not omit one thing which is a very wonderful Indication of the Divinity of our Saviour; what one Man in the World, whether he were Magician, or Tyrant, or King, could of himself have sufficient Ability to oppose so great a Multitude of Enemies, and to fight against all sorts of Idolatry, and all the Host of Dæmons, and all the Art Magick, and all the Wisdom of the *Greeks*, who had themselves so much Power, and who then were in so flourishing a State, as to surprise all Men; and with one *Impetus* to oppose himself against them all, as did our Lord, the true Word of God? Who did invisibly confute the Error of every one of them; and did alone despoil all Men of all their Errors: Inasmuch that those that worshipped Idols did afterward trample upon them; those that had been the Admirers of the magical Arts burnt their Books; and the wise Men preferr'd the Interpretation of the Gospels before all things. For they forsook those whom they honoured before; but the same Christ whom they had had in Derision on Account of his Crucifixion, they now adore, and own him as God. And truly those that are by them called Gods, are driven away by the Sign of the Cross; but this Saviour who was crucified, is preached through the whole World, as God, and the Son of God. Nay, those Gods that are worshipped by the *Greeks*, are reproach'd by them for their Turpitude; while those who only embrace the Doctrine of Christ live a more regular Life than they. Now if these and the like things are meerly humane, let him that is disposed shew that any of their Predecessors could do them; and then we will agree thereto. But if these Operations appear to belong not to Men but to God, and really do so, why do the Unbelievers act

so wickedly, as not to acknowledge him that did them for their Lord? which is to imitate those that don't know from the Works of the Creation that it is God that was their Creator. For if they had known his Divinity, from the Demonstrations of his Power exercised in the Universe; they would also have known that the "Works of Christ done in his Body, were not meerly humane, but belonged to God the Word, the Saviour of the World. Now, *Had they known this, they had not, as Paul said, crucified the Lord of Glory (a).*

54. As therefore when any one has a mind to see God, who is by Nature invisible, and so not at all to be seen, he knows him, and perceives him by his Works. So he that does not in his Mind see Christ "is oblig'd to perceive him by the Works he did in the "Body, and to judge whether they be humane or divine: And then if they appear to be humane, let him deride them; but if divine, let him take Notice of them, and not laugh at what does not deserve such Derision; but let him rather wonder that divine Matters are discover'd to us by such small Means, and Immortality comes to all by Death, and a Providence over all things is discovered by the Incarnation of the Word; and that the Disposer and Author thereof is the Word of God himself. "For he became "Man that we might be made Gods; and he manifested himself "by the Body that we might be made Partakers of the Knowledge "of the invisible Father; and he underwent injurious Treatment "from Men, that we might inherit Immortality. For he himself "was not hurt at all; as being impassible, and incorruptible, and "the real Word, and God. Yet did he keep and preserve those "Men that could suffer, on whose Account he endured such Afflictions, by that Impassibility of his. And indeed the worthy Acts of our Saviour, which were done by his Incarnation, are such, and so many, that if any one should have a mind to recount them, he must look on himself as one that is viewing the immense Ocean, and has a mind to number the Waves thereof. For as he cannot comprehend all those Waves at once, others still succeeding the former, and deluding his Sight that attempts it, so is it in the Case of him that is desirous to comprehend all the worthy Acts that were done in the Body of Christ. It being impossible to comprehend them all, even in Thought; since there will be more that will escape his Thoughts, than those he will suppose himself to comprehend. 'Tis best therefore for me not to have regard to all of them, when I speak of them; while I am not able to speak sufficiently of even a Part of them; but to take Notice of some one, and to leave all the rest to your own Admiration. For they are all equally wonderful; and which way soever one looks, he will there

discover the Divinity of the Word, and be very much surprized at it.

55. 'Tis therefore very fit for you to consider all this, besides what has been said above; and to lay it as a Foundation of what was before said; and to own your Surprize, that upon our Saviour's Appearance Idolatry did no longer get ground; nay, what was then in the World of it lost it, and gradually ceas'd. In the same manner did the Wisdom of the *Greeks* no longer make any farther Progress; nay what was then in Being vanish'd away. The Dæmons also do no longer delude Men by their Tricks, and Prophecies, and Magick Arts. All that remains now of them is but this, that those Dæmons which venture to try their Skill that way, are put to Confusion by the Sign of the Cross. Observe also, to speak all at once, how the Doctrine of our Saviour every where gains ground; while all Idolatry, and whatsoever is contrary to the Faith of Christ, is every Day diminish'd, and weaken'd, and falls away. And when you consider this, worship that Saviour who is over all, and is the powerful God the Word. But give up that which is diminish'd, and reduc'd to a declining State by him. For as Darkness has no longer any Power when the Sun is present; but all its Remains, wherever there are any, are driven away; so does the Darkness of Idols no longer retain any Force at the Approach of the divine Advent of God the Word; but all the Parts of the habitable World are enlighten'd by his Doctrine. And as the Case is with a King, while he does not shew himself abroad in a Country, but keeps within his own House, some seditious Persons do frequently abuse his Retirement, and set up for themselves; and every one makes a Shew among the simpler sort of People, and takes State upon him, as if he were a King; and by this Means Men are deluded by the Name; while they hear indeed that they have a King, but don't see him; and this principally on Account of their not being permitted to go into his House. But when the true King comes abroad and appears, then those seditious Persons are confuted by that Appearance, and those Men that see the true King, desert those that deluded them before; so is the Case here, as to those Dæmons which formerly impos'd upon Men, and assumed divine Honour to themselves. " For when the Word of God appear'd in the Body, and made " known his Father to us, then did the Delusion of the Dæmons vanish away, and come to nothing; while Men having regard to the true God the Word, derived from the Father, leave off their Idols, and acknowledge from thenceforth the true God. Now this is a Demonstration that Christ is God the Word, and the Power of God. For while what is deriv'd from Men comes to nothing, and the Word of Christ stands, 'tis evident to all that what comes to nothing is only temporary; but that he who stands is God, and the true Son of God, the only-begotten Word.

56. This is therefore a brief Account, and such as is sufficient for elementary Instruction, and the distinguishing Character of that Faith which belongs to Christ, and of his divine Appearance to us. And this we dedicate to you, Sir, who are a Lover of Christ. And you will do well to take hence an Occasion to attend in a due Manner, to the Writings of the Scriptures, when you meet with them; as hereby disposed to know thence the Truth of what we say, nay to perceive more perfectly and clearly the Accuracy thereof. For they were spoken and written from God by divine Persons. But we learn'd what we have said from such as were acquainted with those divine Teachers, who were also Martyrs for the Confession of Christ's Divinity; and we do now bequeath the same to you, who are a true Lover of Learning. Whereby you will also perceive that his second appearing to us again, that glorious and really divine Appearance, will not be any more in a contemptible Manner, but in his own Glory; when he will come not any more in a State of Humiliation, but in his own Magnificence; not any more to suffer, but to render to all for the time to come what he procured by his own Death on the Cross, I mean the Resurrection, and Immortality. Then will he no more be judged, but will judge all Men, according to the things that every one has done in the Body, whether they be good or bad (a): When for the Good the Kingdom of Heaven is reserved; but eternal Fire and outer Darkness for those that have done Evil. For so does our Lord himself speak; *I say unto you, hereafter shall ye see the Son of Man sitting at the right Hand of Power, and coming in the Clouds of Heaven, in the Glory of his Father* (b). Whereupon it is that this saving Word does endeavour to prepare us against that Day, when he says, *Be ye ready and watch, for he cometh in what Hour you think not* (c). For, according to the blessed Paul, *We must all appear before the Judgment Seat of Christ, that every one may receive according to what he has done in the Body, whether it be good, or whether it be evil* (d).

57. But then, besides this Search of the Scripture, and the Knowledge of the Truth, we must take care of a good Life, and of a pure Soul, and of Christian Virtue; that the Mind, while it travels along therein, may be able to obtain and comprehend the Knowledge of what it desires, so far as 'tis possible for humane Nature to learn what belongs to God the Word. For no one can comprehend the Words of Holy Men, without a pure Mind, and the Imitation of those Holy Mens Lives. For as when any one is desirous of seeing the Light of the Sun, he does certainly rub and clear his Eye, and, as it were, purifie himself to an Agreement with what he desires to see; that so

(a) 2 Cor. V. 10. (b) Mat. XXVI. 64. (c) XXIV. 42.
(d) 2 Cor. V. 10.

the Eye being rendred lightsom, may see the Light of the Sun : Or, as when any one is desirous to see a City or a Country, he will certainly go to the Place to see it: So ought he that would comprehend the Meaning of those that treat of divine things, wash and cleanse his Soul beforehand, by the Course of his Life; and approach to those holy Persons by the Likeness of his Practice; that being with them in the Conduct of an agreeable Conversation he may both comprehend what is revealed to them by God, and may also afterward, as united with them, escape the Danger of Sinners, and that Fire which awaits them in the Day of Judgment, and may receive what is laid up for the Saints in the Kingdom of Heaven; *Which Eye hath not seen, nor Ear heard, nor has it entred into the Heart of Man what is prepared for those that live by the Rules of Virtue, and for those that love God (a), and the Father in Christ Jesus our Lord. By whom, and with whom, Honour, and Power, and Glory, be given to the Father himself, with the Son himself, in the Holy Spirit, for ever and ever. Amen.*

Observations from these Two Treatises of Athanasius.

1. **T**HAT the *Consubstantiality* of the Son with the Father could not well be then the Doctrine of *Athanasius*, since he expressly affirms that the Supreme God is *ὑπερῆνεκα πάντος ὀρίαν*, intirely above all Substance (b), and *ὑπερῆνεκα πάντος γυντῆς*, or *γυντῆς ὀρίαν*, intirely above all made or begotten Substance whatsoever (c).

2. That the usual Language of the Constitutions and *Ignatius* about the Person of our Saviour, which styles him *God the Word* (d), in Distinction from the Supreme God, is here very frequent and usual, as is that other Phrase *Only Begotten God* once used also (e). Which is a great Confirmation of their original Use, and of the Antiquity and Sacredness of those Books whence they were deriv'd.

3. (f) That by the *One God*, or *Only God*, or *True God*, *Athanasius* always means *God the Father*, and him alone.

4. (g) That he never calls the Holy Spirit *God*.

(a) 1 Cor. II. 9. (b) *Contr. Gent.* § 2. p. 2. (c) § 40. p. 39.
(d) *Passim.* (e) § 41. p. 40. (f) *Passim.* (g) *Passim.*

5. (a) That he never calls the Three Persons *One God*; nor speaks at all of the *Trinity*, much less of the *Trinity in Unity*.

6. (b) That he never calls any but the Father the *Good God*; or the *Living God*, or the *God of the Universe*.

7. (c) That yet he every where directly distinguishes the Son from the *γεννητα*, *Beings made*, and from the *Creatures* which were created by himself under the Father; and ever supposes his Derivation from the Father to be after an higher Manner than that of those *Creatures*, and not by a Production *ἐξ ἑκ ὧντων*, *out of nothing*; as *Arius* himself and his peculiar Followers asserted: But rather by an *ineffable Generation*, in Opposition to that *Creation out of nothing*; nor does he ever here directly say, he was *created* at all; tho' he never denies the Use of the Word neither upon such Occasions.

8. That he never in all this whole Discourse of the Incarnation, which he owns to be the larger that he might omit nothing that was proper to be said thereon, gives the least Hint that he supposed the Word took a *humane*, or *rational Soul*. Nay it seems as if he had never so much as heard of such a Notion among Christians at all. This is a Point of such vast Consequence, and seems to me so evident in this Book which is much the largest and most compleat we have upon this Subject till long after the Council of *Nice*, that I own the Regard thereto has chiefly influenc'd me in this Translation: and I do accordingly appeal solemnly to the unbiass'd Reader, after he has carefully perus'd the whole Discourse, whether he can believe that *Athanasius* own'd a humane rational Soul as assumed by the Word at the Incarnation, when he wrote this Treatise. And that he may the more easily judge of the Truth of what I say, I have here plac'd *Comma's* in the Margin over against all those most remarkable Passages which concern that Matter. Nor is the Reader to be so much surpriz'd at this Observation here; since a much later (d) Treatise of his upon this Subject, if it be really his, has seem'd so very favourable to the same original Notion, that it has been by some suspected to belong to *Apollinarius*, who was the great Preserver of the same, even while he was against the *Arians* in other Points, and whose Doctrine, as explain'd by his Deputies, was admitted by *Athanasius* and his Synod so late as *A. D. 362*. So that it seems the Acknowledgement of a humane or rational Soul in Christ, distinct from his divine Nature, was one of the last Branches of this *Athanasian* Heresy. And then, in Case the Reader agrees with me in this Observation, I do in like Manner solemnly appeal to him whether *Athanasius's* original Doctrines before the Council of *Nice* were not the very same which I have lately reviv'd in these Matters. It being indisputable, and agreed on by all, that in Case our Saviour did not assume a humane rational Soul at his In-

(a) *Passim.* (b) *Passim.* (c) *Passim.* (d) *Op. p. 871.* — 890.
carnation

carnation, the common Orthodoxy cannot possibly be defended; since no other Answers or Evasions can be so much as pretended to in abundance of Cases, but such as are intirely built upon the Supposition of such a Soul assumed by him.

9. (a) That he ever owns but *One God*, as the original Creator of all; I mean *God the Father* alone; and that *God the Son*, or *Word* created all as the Instrument or Minister of the Father only.

10. (b) That he owns that the *Word*, or *Divine Nature of Christ*, *endur'd* and *suffer'd* for us when it was in the Body; but that it was not properly *hurt*, or received any real *Detriment* by such Sufferings; exactly as I have (c) elsewhere shew'd the Opinion of *Irenaeus* and *Eusebius* to have been also. Nor does there in all this Treatise appear the least Sign of the *hypostatical Union*, or *Communication of Properties*, which yet the Orthodox have been since forced to devise in order to the Support of their novel Notions in this Matter. Nor ought this Observation to be pass'd over without very serious Reflections upon it also.

11. (d) That he concludes with the very same Doxology that I recommend, *To the Father, through and with the Son, in the Holy Ghost*; exactly according to the other ancientest Testimonies and the original Practice of the Christian Church.

12. That in general his Notions and Language are here the very same which the Ancients used before the Council of *Nice*; and which those who opposed the *Athanasian* Heresy afterward made use of; without any of those that either *Arim* or himself afterward introduc'd into Christianity; both which the wiser, and better, and, in the East especially, the greater Part of the Church did long justly condemn. Indeed I hardly remember one Expression about these Points in both these Books about *Athanasius* which I my self dislike; how much soever I abhor that pernicious Heresy which the same Person did many Years afterward bring into the Church. For as to the Word *αἰδιος*, *eternal*, here once ascrib'd to our Saviour, it is not very offensive to me; because it had been us'd by *Clement* of *Alexandria* long before (e), without any Sign of its implying a strict Coeternity with the Father; and because (a) *Jude* himself makes use of it in such a finite Sense, as is most probable: So that there is no Necessity of putting such a rigid Interpretation upon it in this Place; especially when all the rest of his Notions and Language in these Treatises are plainly the same with those of the Body of the Eastern Church in his Age who were styl'd *Arians*; and were known to be utterly against any such absolute and proper Eternity of the Son of God.

(a) *De Incarn.* § 2. 3. & *passim.* (b) § 17. & 54. (c) See Account of the *Prim. Faith.* Art. 16. p. 316, 317. (d) § 57. (e) *Protrept.* p. 74, 75. *Hymn. ad Calcem Pedag.* (f) *Jud.* v. 6.

13. That the Notions and Language of *Athanasius* in some Time differ'd almost as much from his own original Notions and Language, as from the like Notions and Language of those whom he then branded with the odious Name of *Arians*. To be sensible of this the Reader need only compare these Treatises with what he wrote concerning the same Subject afterwards (a), wherein the very same things often pass for Heresy, if not Blasphemy, which every Page is here full of. I don't mean that he alter'd his Mind so entirely at the Council of *Nice*; for that Council did not go one half of the way towards that Heresy which *Athanasius* at length introduc'd; but that by degrees he went from one thing to another, and that chiefly in order to support what he had already advanc'd, and out of Hatred to the opposite Party of the *Arians*; till at last he quite alter'd his original Opinions, and Expressions, and Practice, and became the most fatal Heretick that ever was in the Church.

Athanasius's Account of the Original of the Meletians.

(b) **P**ETER was made Bishop of *Alexandria* before the Persecution [of *Dioclesian*] arose, and suffer'd Martyrdom in that Persecution. This *Peter* depos'd *Meletius*, an *Ægyptian* Bishop, and that in a general Synod of Bishops, as one convicted of many Crimes, and as having sacrific'd to Idols. In this Case *Meletius* had not Recourse to another Synod; nor did he take Care to apologize for what he had done to those that should come after him; but made a Schism; and his Party are to this very Day named *Meletians*, instead of *Christians*. He immediately began to abuse the Bishops, *Peter* in the first Place; and then he calumniated *Achillas* his Successor; and *Alexander* also, *Achillas*'s Successor. Now this was his sly Management, in imitation of *Abfolom*, that he might be able to wipe off the Shame of his own Deposition, and impose upon the simple by such Slanders. And at the same time that *Meletius* was engag'd in this Management the *Arian* Heresy arose. But when the Council of *Nice* was call'd, that Heresy was anathematiz'd, and the *Arians* were cast out of the Church. But the *Meletians* were in some sort receiv'd: For 'tis not necessary that I should now give any farther Account of that Matter. Before Five Months were over *Alexander* of blessed Memory died, and the *Meletians*, who

(a) Op. p. 871, &c. (b) Apolog. contr. *Arian*. Op. Tom. I. p. 177, 178.

ought to have been quiet, and took it as a Favour that they were in any Measure receiv'd, did on the contrary, like Swine who cannot forget to return to their Vomit, disturb the Church again. Wherefore *Eusebius*, who was inform'd of what had pass'd, and was the Head of the *Arian* Heresy, sent to the *Meletians*, and brib'd them with many Promises, and entred into a clancular Friendship with them, and concerted Measures with them against a certain Time which he thought proper for their Designs. Accordingly he sent to me at first, and exhorted me to admit the *Arians* to Communion; in Discourse indeed by way of threatening, but in his Letter by way of Entreaty. But when I oppos'd him, and said it was not fit to admit such as had been the Inventers of an Heresy contrary to the true Doctrine, and such as had been anathematiz'd by a general Council, he caused the Emperor *Constantine* of blessed Memory to write to me, and to threaten me, that unless I would admit the *Arians* I should suffer the very same things which I have formerly, and do now suffer, &c.

Epiphanius's Account of the Origin of the same Meletians.

1. (a) **T**HERE is a certain Party in *Ægypt* called *Meletians* from one *Meletius* a certain Catholick and Orthodox Bishop in *Thebais*: For his Faith ever continued invariably the same with that of the Catholick Church. This *Meletius* was Contemporary, and flourish'd at the same time with the fore-mentioned *Hieracas*; but somewhat younger in Age. Accordingly he was also Contemporary with the Holy *Peter*, who was Bishop of *Alexandria* afterwards. All these Persons liv'd in the Time of that Persecution which was under *Dioclesian* and *Maximian*. Now the Affair of *Meletius* happen'd thus: *Meletius* made a Schism, but without any Change of the Faith. Under that Persecution he was seiz'd on by some of the Prefects of *Ægypt* and *Alexandria*, whom the Emperor had sent for that Purpose, together with the Holy Bishop *Peter*, who was afterward a Martyr, and with the rest of the Martyrs. *Culeianus* was then the Governor of *Thebais*, and *Hierocles* of *Alexandria*. Now *Meletius* was confin'd in the Prison, and the fore-mention'd Martyrs with him, together with the fore-mention'd *Peter*, Archbishop of *Alexandria*. Which *Meletius* was the most eminent of all the *Ægyptian* Bishops, and the very next in Rank to the Archbishop *Peter*, and a

sort of Coadjutor to him, but subordinate; and one that was to appeal to him in Ecclesiastical Affairs. For it was the Right of the Archiepiscopal See of *Alexandria*, to oversee the Ecclesiastical Administration of all *Aegypt*, and *Thebais*, and *Maræotis*, and *Libya*, and *Ammoniaca*, and *Pentapolis*. All these Persons then were seiz'd, and were in Prison, as Martyrs for Christ, and continued a long time there; tho' some others that were betray'd into their Enemies Hand were martyr'd before them, and so receiv'd their final Reward, and were fallen asleep; while these principal and most considerable Persons were reserv'd for the time to come.

2. Some therefore underwent Martyrdom, while others fell away, and went through the horrid Impiety of the Worship of Idols, and submitted to the Necessity of sacrificing. Now those that had fallen away, and sacrificed, and transgressed, came to the Confessors and Martyrs in order to obtain Pardon upon their Repentance. Some of which Offenders were Soldiers, and some Clergymen, of several Ranks, as Presbyters, Deacons, and others; and hereupon there was no small Commotion and Disturbance among the Martyrs. For some affirmed that those that had once fallen away, and denied Christ, and continued in their Cowardice, and had fail'd in the Hour of Trial, were not to be admitted to Repentance; lest the remaining Prisoners might disregard the Smallness of their Penalty; while they could be so suddenly forgiven: and might turn aside to the Denial of God, and venture upon the vilest Practices of *Gentilism*. Nor was this that the Confessors alledg'd without good Grounds. Now the Confessors themselves that affirmed this were *Meletius* and *Peleus*, and many others of the Martyrs and Confessors with them. And tis plain that those that underwent such great Afflictions must say this out of their Zeal for God. They added also, that after the Persecution was over Repentance might be allow'd such Persons, when a considerable time was past, if their Repentance appear'd to be sincere, and they brought forth the Fruits of Repentance. But not so that every one should be receiv'd into his own Order of the Clergy; but that after a while they should be admitted to the Assemblies in the Church, to some Communion, in some inferiour Rank; but not among the Clergy. Which Determination was certainly made out of Love to and Zeal for the Truth, and not otherwise.

3. But the most Holy Bishop *Peter*, being of a benign Temper, and the common Father of them all, made use of Intreaties, and beg'd of them, saying, Let us receive them now they repent; and let us ordain them Penance, that they may attend on the Church; and let us not reject them, nor exclude them from the Clergy; (for so the Tradition has deliver'd down his Speech to us;) lest those that have been once shaken and disorder'd by their own Cowardice, and Frailty, and the Snares of the Devil, should be utterly confounded, especially on a long Penance; and instead of being healed,

led, should be entirely turned out of the Way: as it is written, that *that which is lame may not be turned out of the Way, but that it may rather be healed* (a). In truth *Peter's* Discourse was out of Mercy Compassion; and that of *Meletius* and his Companions out of regard to Truth, and out of real Zeal. Hence it was that a Schism arose upon occasion of the different Notions each Party had of the Truth; while one said one thing, and another another. For when *Peter* the Archbishop perceiv'd that the *Meletians*, out of a divine and inflamed Zeal, oppos'd his merciful Determination, he hung up his *Cloak*, a particular sort of Garment which he wore, as a Veil, in the midst of the Prison; and caused a Deacon to make Proclamation, *Let those that are of my Opinion come to me; and those that are of Meletius's Opinion to Meletius*: And so the Multitude of Bishops, and Monks, and Presbyters, and other Orders which was on *Meletius's* Side were divided from the rest; while a very few of the Bishops, and a few others were on the Side of *Peter* the Archbishop. And after this Time the one Party went to their Prayers separately by themselves: And in the same manner each Party celebrated the other sacred Ordinances by themselves. Now it came pass that *Peter* of blessed Memory suffered Martyrdom; and that *Alexander* succeeded him, as Bishop of *Alexandria*: For he it was who ascended that Throne next to the before-mention'd *Peter*: While *Meletius* and many others were sent into Banishment being carried away to the *Phanessian* Mines. And then it was that those that were banish'd being Confessors as well as *Meletius* himself, and in Prison together, did, as they went along, in every Country, and in every Place, ordain Men into the Clergy, Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons; and so founded particular Churches of their own. And one Party did not communicate with the other; and every one gave their own Churches peculiar Names. Those that succeeded *Peter*, who possess'd the old Churches, nam'd them the *Catholick Church*: And the *Meletians* call'd theirs the *Church of the Martyrs*. Accordingly *Meletius* himself, as he went along, Ordain'd many at *Eleutheropolis*, and *Gaza*, and *Ælia*. Nor was it a small time that he tarried in the fore-mention'd Mines. Now it came to pass that after some time the Confessors were deliver'd out of the Mines; both those of *Peter's* Party, for there were still many of them, and those of *Meletius's*: For they did not communicate or pray one with another even in the Mines. It also came to pass that *Meletius* liv'd for some time after this, and flourish'd as Contemporary with *Alexander*, *Peter's* Successor; and that they lived like Friends, and joyn'd in the Care of the Church, and of the Faith. For, as I have often said, they had no Difference on that Account.

(a) *Heb.* XII. 13.

N. B. In these two Histories the Difference is so plain and palpable; and *Epiphanius* was visibly so much an honest and a learned Man than *Athanasius*, and yet so firm an *Athanasian* himself, that his Account cannot but deserve great Consideration. Nor is it a sufficient weakening to his Authority to suppose that he must have his Account from some of the *Meletians* themselves: Since if it were so he liv'd near enough that Time to have it from some of their original Authors, or from their Contemporaries, in a most authentick Manner; and yet by his Acquaintance with the *Athanasians* of his own Side, he must know if they had then any more authentick Accounts to the contrary: which here appears not the least Sign of. I conclude therefore that his Account is to be prefer'd before that of *Athanasius*; who yet had the best Opportunity of knowing the Truth, and so if he gave us a false History must be suspected of doing it in the way of Prejudice, and evident Partiality. And this is the more to be suspected here, because the Council of Nice it self gave a Sentence in the Cause of the *Meletians* so much more favourable than *Athanasius* would have had it, that, as the *Benedictines* observe, *He mentions it more than once, and that not without the Declaration of some Indignation of Mind thereupon (a)*. So that this History cannot but afford us a most just Suspicion as to the Integrity and Honesty of *Athanasius*.

N. B. We may also here note, by the way, from what follows in the same (b) *Epiphanius*, and is hinted at (c) elsewhere by *Athanasius*, that *Meletius* was at first against *Arius*, and discover'd his Heresy to *Alexander*, the Bishop of *Alexandria*; but that the *Meletians* afterwards joined with the *Eusebians* against *Athanasius* and his Heresy also. As if they, as well as *Constantine*, *Hosius*, and others, who highly disliked the novel and unwarrantable Notions and Language of *Arius* himself and his peculiar Followers, did not less dislike the novel and unwarrantable Notions and Language of *Athanasius* and his Followers also: Which indeed seems to have been the true State of this Matter as to the wisest and best Men of that Age, and ought to have been followed by all the wise and good Men of succeeding Ages; that so the Church might no more have retain'd any Tincture of the *Athanasian*, than of the *Arian* Heresy: They being both plainly unjustifiable by the Christian Revelation; and the *Athanasian* particularly very absurd, and contradictory to common Reason, nay, to every one of the Dispensations and Revelations of God to Mankind also.

(a) *Vit. Athan.* §. 15. p. 10. (b) § 4, &c. (c) *Ad Episc. Ægypt.* & *Lib.* § 22. *Op. Tom. I.* p. 292.

The Words of Theognostus, as cited by Athanasius from his Institutions.

(a) **W**HEN *Theognostus* writes about the Son in the second Book of his *Institutions*, he says thus, "The Substance of the Son is not somewhat discover'd out of God, nor was it brought into Being out of nothing, but was deriv'd from the Substance of God; as the Case is in the Brightness that arises from Light, and in the Vapor that arises from Water. For that Brightness or that Vapour is not Water it self, or the Sun it self; nor is it any thing alien therefrom: But an Efflux from the Substance of the Father; yet without any Division undergone by the same Substance. For as the Sun continues the same, and is not diminish'd by those Rays of Light which are sent out by it; so neither does the Substance of the Father suffer any Alteration by having the Son as an Image of it self. *Theognostus* then, after he had introduc'd different Notions before for Disputation's sake, did at last set down his own Opinion in the foregoing Words. So far *Athanasius*.

Photius's Account of Theognostus's Opinions from the same Books of his Institutions.

(b) **W**HEN he speaks of the Son he declares him to be a Creature, and to have Power only over Rational Beings; and some other such things he ascribes to the Son, like *Origen*: Either as entangled in the like impious Opinions with him; or else we may say, if we will use some Violence in order to excuse him, that he added such Expressions for Disputations sake, and not because his own Opinions were really such. — Indeed in the seventh Oration, which has this Inscription, *Of the Workmanship of God*; he disputes rather more piously, both as to other Points, and especially towards the End of that Oration about the Son.

N. B. Here we see that in *Theognostus's* second Oration, which is cited by *Athanasius*, as well as in all the former six, *Photius* could find no Sign of any thing but the *Origenian* or *Ensebian* Doctrines; and that by consequence the foregoing Quotation (whose Style is also plainly that of the fourth, and not of the third Century,) is highly

(a) *De Decret. Nicen. Synod.* § 25. Op. Vol. I. p. 230. (b) *Biblioth. Cod.* 106.

to be suspected, as a Forgery, Misrepresentation or Interpolation of *Athanasius*: And that the Pretence of *Athanasius* as to the other Doctrines or Expressions of the same *Theognostus* that they were propos'd only for *Disputations sake*, was, in *Photius's* Opinion, a Strain or *Violence* to the Words and no better.

Athanasius's Account of the Opinions of Dionysius of Alexandria from his Letters to Dionysius of Rome.

(a) **N**OW *Dionysius*, who was Bishop of *Alexandria*, when he wrote against *Sabellius*, and explained at large the Oeconomy of our Saviour according to the Flesh, and confuted the *Sabellians*, by proving that it was not the Father who was made Flesh, but his Word, as *John* says; and was thereupon suspected as affirming the Son to be a Being that was made and created, and that he was not *consubstantial* with the Father, wrote to his Namesake *Dionysius* Bishop of *Rome*, by way of Apology, and to shew that this was a false Imputation upon him; alledging that he had not said the Son was *Made*; and affirming that he owned him to be *Consubstantial*. His very Words are these: "I wrote another Epistle, wherein I confuted that Calumny which they laid against me, and shewed it to be false, which was that I refused to say that Christ was *Consubstantial* with God. For tho' I must confess that I could never find that Word any where in the Holy Scriptures, yet do my following Arguments, which they say nothing of, shew that I was not averse from that Notion. For I instanc'd in a humane Offspring, and said it was plainly of the same kind with its Parents; and that all the Difference was that the Parents were not the Children, and that there was no Necessity of the Existence of either the Parents or the Children. As for that Epistle it self, I have it not by me to send you, on Account of our Afflictions, otherwise I would have transcrib'd the very Words, or rather would have sent you a compleat Copy of it; which when I shall be in Prosperity I will do. However, I very well remember that I added many Instances of things of the same kind: For I took Notice that a Plant which arises from Seed, or from a Root, is different from that whence it sprang, and yet for certain of the same kind with it. I also said that a River which flows from a Fountain receives a different Name, seeing the Fountain is not called a

(a) *De Decret. Synod. Nican. § 25. Op. Tom. I. § 230, 231.*

" River,

" River, nor the River a Fountain : While both distinctly exist,
 " and the River is that Water which is deriv'd from the Fountain.

And afterwards *Athanasius* gives us this farther Account of the Matter, in Opposition to the *Arians* who affirmed that *Dionysius* was on their Side.

When therefore he made his Apology as to these Imputations, he writes thus, Word for Word, in the (a) first Book of his Con-
 futation and Apology, after he had discours'd of some other things.

" For there was not any Duration when God was not a Father.
 And he owns the same Doctrine in what follows, when he says,
 " That Christ always was, as being the Word, and Wisdom, and
 " Power of God. For God was not once without these Vertues as
 " his Offspring, whence he might afterward obtain such Offspring :
 " Nor is that Offspring of himself, but has its Being from the Fa-
 " ther. And a little after he speaks again of the same Matter,
 " Since he is the Efflux from eternal Light, he is to be sure him-
 " self eternal? For while the Light always existed, 'tis evident
 " that the Efflux must always have been. For by this very Efflux
 " of Light it is that we understand that the original luminous Bo-
 " dy exists; and a Luminary cannot but be that which enlightens.
 " For let us again come to our Examples, if the Sun exists there is
 " a Brightness, and there is Day. And if there be nothing of
 " this Nature the Sun must be far from its rising. If then the Sun
 " were eternally risen, the Day would never cease to be. But cer-
 " tainly (since that is not the Case) with the rising of the Sun be-
 " gins the Day, and with its setting it ends. But now God is eter-
 " nal Light, without any Beginning or End at all. Wherefore the
 " Efflux of his Light is coeval, and coexists with him, without any
 " Beginning, and is ever-begotten, and shines before him : And is
 " indeed the Wisdom which speaks thus, *I was that wherein he de-*
 " *lighted, and I rejoiced daily at all times before his Face* (b). And
 again, he adds a little after, about the same thing, as follows,
 " Seeing then the Father is eternal, the Son must also be eter-
 " nal; as being Light of Light. For where a Parent is supposed,
 " there must be a Child supposed also. But if there be no Child,
 " how and whose Parent can he be? But they both are, and are
 " always. After which he adds as follows, Since God is Light,
 " Christ is his Efflux : And since he is a Spirit [or Breath] (for
 " says the Scripture God is a Spirit,) Christ is by Analogy call'd a
 " Vapour. For 'tis said, *He is a Vapour deriv'd from the Power of*
 " *God* (c). And again, his Words are, " Now the Son alone is ever
 " with the Father ; and being filled with him that really exists, is
 " himself a really existing Being, derived from the Father.

(a) *De Sentent. Dionys.* § 14, 15. p. 253, 254. (b) *Prov.* VIII. 30.
 (c) *Wisd.* VII. 25.

Dionysius in his (a) second Book says thus : “ Those Names that
 “ I have made use of are every one inseparable and indivisible
 “ from its Fellow. I called the one *Father* ; and before I added
 “ the Word *Son* I intended to include him in the Signification of
 “ the Word *Father*. I added the Word *Son* ; and if I had not
 “ mention’d the *Father* before I must have been certainly suppos’d
 “ to have already included him under the Word *Son*. I added the
 “ Words *Holy Spirit*, but at the same time I join’d the Notions
 “ both whence and by whom he came. Now these Men don’t
 “ perceive that neither is the *Father* as *Father* to be suppos’d with-
 “ out the *Son* ; for the very Name does of it self signify the Con-
 “ nexion that is between them : Nor is the *Son* separated from the
 “ *Father* : For the Denomination of *Father* declares their Connexion.
 “ And the *Spirit* is in their Hands, as not possible to be depriv’d ei-
 “ ther of him that sends him, or of him that carries him. How was it
 “ possible then that I who made use of these Denominations could
 “ suppose that these Beings were divided and separated intirely
 “ one from another ? And a little after he adds as follows, Accord-
 “ ingly we extend the Unity into the Trinity, without Division : And
 “ again we conjoin the Trinity into the Unity without Diminution.

After this, when some blamed him as saying that the *Son* was
 one of the Beings that were *made*, and not *consubstantial* with the
Father, he does himself confute such Objecters, in his (b) first
 Book, where he says ; “ But when I said we must consider the
 “ Nature of some things that are *created* and *made* I gave some
 “ Examples, but very briefly, as looking on them not so directly
 “ to my Purpose. For I said that neither was a Plant the same
 “ Being with the Husbandman, nor a Boat with the Shipwright :
 “ And then I treated more largely of those Examples which were
 “ more pertinent, and more suited to my Purpose ; and I reasoned
 “ fully about those things that were more certainly agreeable, and
 “ I heaped up various Examples which I wrote to you in another
 “ Epistle, wherein I confuted [as before in the first Quotation.] But
 “ they pretend that they can’t see all this ; tho’ it be written
 “ there ; and that they are as it were too blind to discern them,
 “ while they shoot at me from afar with two small ill connected
 “ Words, as with Stones ; as unacquainted that when obscure
 “ things, which want preparatory Explications in order to their
 “ being understood, not only such Examples as seem remote from
 “ the Purpose, but such as seem contrary thereto are proper to ex-
 “ plain the Nature of the Questions. And again in the third Book
 he says, “ Life was begotten by Life, as a River flows from a Foun-
 “ tain ; and a bright Light is kindled from an inextinguishable Light.

(a) § 17. p. 254, 255. (b) § 18. p. 255.

And he says, (a) "Altho' I own that I never could find the Word *Consubstantial* in the Scriptures, yet did I by collecting the Meaning of the same Scriptures perceive, that since he was the Son and the Word of God, he could not be alien from the Substance of the Father. For that *Dionysius* did not esteem the Son to be a *Being Created*, or a *Being Made*, (which Doctrine they frequently charged upon him,) he says thus in the second Book: "If any of these Calumniators suppose that because I said that God was the Maker and Creator of all things, I therefore imply'd he was so even of Christ himself, let him observe that I had before said he was the Father; in which Term the Son is also describ'd. For after I had said a Father is a Maker, I added, yet is not he the Father of those things whereof he is the Maker, if he that Begets be strictly called a Father only: (For we will hereafter inquire into the Latitude of the Signification of that Word *Father*.) Nor is a Maker a Father, if he alone that works of some Handycraft be called a Maker. For among the *Greeks* the Philosophers are called the *Makers* of their own Discourses; and the Apostle uses the Expression [*Maker or Doer*] of the Law. Nay, Men are denominated the *Makers* [or *Doers*] of internal Vertues or Vices; as God said, *I expected he should make [or do] Judgment, and he made [or did] Iniquity.*

(b) And when some Persons unskilfully urged this upon him; that he affirmed that God was the *Maker* of Christ, he said thereupon several things, by way of Apology; and that "even upon Supposition that he did say so. it was not culpable; because he meant it of his Flesh, which the Word assumed, as a thing that was made. And tho' any one should suspect that this was spoken of the Word it self, yet he ought to hear calmly what I have to say for my self. For tho' I do not suppose the Word to be a Made Being, and affirm that God is not his *Maker*, but his *Father*, yet if in haste I should call God his *Maker*, when I am discoursing of the Word, this will not be indefensible neither: For the *Greek* Philosophers call themselves the *Makers* of their own Discourses; tho' they be properly the *Fathers* of those Discourses. And the very divine Scripture it self declares that we are the *Makers* of the internal Motions of our Souls, when it speaks of us as of the *Makers* [or *Doers*] of the Law, and of Judgment, and of Righteousness.

Dionysius writes in the (c) first Book thus: "I have already observ'd that God is the Fountain of all that is good; and the Son is describ'd as a River deriv'd by Way of Effusion from him. For our Word is an Emanation of our Mind, and is, to speak after the Manner of Men, carried from the Soul by the Mouth; it is

(a) § 20. p. 257. (b) § 21. p. 258. (c) § 23. p. 259.

" different from that Word [or Reason] which is in the Soul, and
 " it is the Mind sent out by the Tongue. For the internal Mind
 " that sent out the other continues in Being, and is still as it was
 " but that Word which is emitted flies out, and is carried every
 " way. After this Manner is the one in the other, tho' still differ-
 " rent from the other; and they are one, and yet two. And af-
 " ter the same Manner the Father and Son are One; and are said
 " to be in one another mutually. In the fourth Book he says also
 " thus, " For as our Mind sends forth a Word from it self, as says
 " the Prophet, *My Heart hath sent forth a good Word* (a), and each
 " of them is different from the other, as obtaining a Place proper
 " to it self, and separate from that of the other; the one residing
 " and moving in the Soul, the other on the Tongue, and in the
 " Mouth; yet are they not at a distance from one another; nor
 " are they so much as once depriv'd of each other; nor is the
 " Mind without its Word, nor the Word without its Mind; but
 " the Mind makes the Word, and appears therein; and the Word
 " shews the Mind wherein it is; and the Mind is as it were the in-
 " ternal Word, and the Word is the external Mind; the Mind
 " passes into the Word, and the Word insinuates the Mind into
 " the Auditors; and so the Mind is implanted by the Means of
 " the Word, as entring together with it into the souls of the
 " Hearers; and the Mind becomes, as it were, the Father of the
 " Word existing in it self; but the Word is, as it were, the Son
 " of the Mind; not existing before it, which is impossible, nor
 " out of it at any time; but together with it, and branching out from
 " it. So has the Father, that Great and Universal Mind, first of
 " all his Son, the Word, for his Interpreter and Messenger.

Observe how *Dionysius* writes about these Points in the (b) second
 Book as follows, " *In the beginning was the Word* (c); but that which
 " sent forth the Word was not it self a Word. *For the Word was with*
 " *God.* Our Lord was made Wisdom; it was not therefore Wis-
 " dom that produced Wisdom. For says he, *I was that wherein he re-*
 " *joiced* (d). Christ is Truth as 'tis said, *Blessed be the God of Truth* (e).
 I have collected and transcrib'd only these few Passages out of his
 Epistles; which may afford you the Occasion of adding more; and
 are sufficient to put the *Arians* to the greatest Confusion, for their
 Calumny against this Bishop. For in all and every particular Wri-
 ting of his he confutes their Malignity, and openly triumphs over
 their Heresy.

(a) *Psal.* XLIV. 2. (b) *S.* 23. p. 260. (c) *John* I. 1. (d) *Prov.*
VIII. 30. (e) *3 Esd.* IV. 4.

Now bear Athanasius's Confession, as to that Epistle of Dionysius to Euphranor and Ammonius which occasion'd these pretended Apologies.

(a) **T**HE *Arians* affirm that the Blessed *Dionysius* said in an Epistle that the Son of God is a *Created*, and a *Made Being*. Yes, he did write so; we our selves also do own that there is such an Epistle of his.

Hear also Basil's full Account of this Dionysius's Opinions about these Matters, in his Epistle to Maximus.

(b) **B**UT as to your Question about *Dionysius*, I own that a very great Number of his Books have come to our Hands; but those Books are not now by us, so we have not sent them. However, our Opinion stands thus, We don't admire every thing that he says: Nay, some things we intirely disaprove. For this very Man is the first, as far as we have discovered, who laid the Seeds of the present noted Impiery of the *Anomæans*, [the grossest Sect of the *Arians*.] The Occasion of which I take to be this; not that he had a malicious Mind, but that it was out of an over eager Opposition to the *Sabellians*. So that I us'd to compare him to a Planter of Trees; who when he has a Mind to reduce a young Plant to Straitness, he does by way of Opposition bend it too far to the opposite Extreme. This running from one Extreme to another one may perceive in *Dionysius*. For while he was vehement in his Opposition to that *Libyan's* [*Sabellius's*] impious Opinion, he was not sensible how he was carried by his too great Eagerness after Victory there, into the opposite Misfortune. For whereas he ought to have been content to shew that the Father and Son are not the same Subsistence, and to look on the gaining of that Point as a sufficient Victory over that blasphemous Heretick, he endeavour'd over and above to evince plainly a great deal more, and supposed not only a Difference as to their Subsistences, but a diversity of Substance, an Inferiority of Power, and an Inequality of Glory.

(a) *De Sentent. Dionys. § 4. Op. Tom. I. p. 246.* (b) *Ep. XLI. Op. Tom. II. p. 802.*

Whence it happen'd that he changed one dangerous Opinion for another; and deserted the orthodox Faith. Whereupon he spake variously in his Writings; sometimes overturning the Consubstantiality; as in those Parts where he reasons very wrong about the Difference of their Substances; and sometimes admitting it, as in his Apology to his Namesake [of Rome.] But besides he utter'd such Words about the Spirit as are by no Means agreeable to him; and supposed him quite remote from that Deity which is to be worshipped. And in another Place afterward he reckons him among the created and ministring Natures. This was the Character of *Dionysius*.

Note here (1.) That *Athanasius* brings in *Dionysius* as not owning that he had his own Letter to *Euphranor* and *Ammonius* which he confesses the *Arians* mainly insisted on, by him, or could send it, or even a compleat Extract out of it, to *Dionysius* of *Rome*, but still obliges them and us to take it as he is pleased to represent it. Which very Concealment is some Foundation of Suspicion that it was not safe for him to produce it intire, lest its Perspicuity should appear too great to bear the Colours he was to put upon it. (2.) That he pretends this was the only Letter or Treatise that so much as seem'd to favour the *Arians* among those great Numbers which *Dionysius* wrote; nay, that every one of his other Writings were express against the *Arians*: Whereas it appears plainly from *Basil*, who had seen a very great Number of them, that there was rather but one at the utmost concerning these Subjects, that did not evidently favour them; and that the rest in general were on their Side. (3.) That *Dionysius's* Writings did not only a little favour the moderate, but directly support the grossest *Arians* of *Basil's* Time, the very *Eunomians*, or *Anomæans* themselves, who were so far from believing that the Son was of the same Substance with the Father, that they said he was of an unlike Substance to him. So that 'tis very hard to make *Dionysius* a Patron of the Consubstantiality, when he was of the directly opposite Persuasion. (4.) That the whole Story of *Dionysius's* Vindication of himself, or rather Recantation of his former Doctrine, as to the Consubstantiality, seems intirely built on the Credit of *Athanasius* alone; as being fully mentioned by no Body but him, and only hinted at by *Basil*, most probably from him. Nay, the very Story and Letter of *Dionysius* of *Rome*, on which all depends, stands equally on the sole Authority of *Athanasius*, without any colateral Evidence to support it. (5.) In case we should allow the whole Story to be genuine, yet is here no sufficient Indication that *Dionysius's* real Opinions were against the *Arians*: Since it hence appears certain that his own unforc'd and natural Language, which he made use of of his own accord, before any Accusation was laid against him, was for the very *Eunomians* or *Anomæan Arians*, whatever he might by Fear be obliged to say afterward in his own Vindication. I believe all impartial Men will agree that

that the original and natural Expressions of any declare their real Thoughts much better and more sincerely than those their Prudence and Caution persuades them to make use of after any Accusations have been laid against or Recantations extorted from them. (6.) Yet is there all the Reason in the World to suspect the whole Story and Letters to be an *Athanasian* Forgery. None but *Athanasius* appears to mention it originally; *Eusebius* gives us not the least Hint of it; the Style is evidently much more like that of the Days of *Athanasius*, than of *Dionysius*; the Doctrine of the *Consubstantiality* did but then begin to appear, and was at this very Time condemned by the famous Council of *Antioch*; so that it could be hardly any where of ill Reputation to deny it; as is here suppos'd: And the now undoubted Forgery of the same (a) *Athanasius* about the Anathema's of the Council of *Nice*, shews, that he would not stick at such Practices to support his Heresy. (7.) We also see how the Christian or *Eusebian* Doctrine, that the Holy Ghost was a Creature, and one that ministred to the Father and Son, was also the Doctrine of *Dionysius*; as well as it was so of all other Catholick Christians till the Days of *Athanasius*, who changed our Old Christianity in that Matter also.

Athanasius's Quotation from Origen.

(b) BUT now that the Word was eternally with the Father, and was not of any other Essence or Substance, but peculiarly of that of the Father, as the Fathers of the Synod [of *Nice*] affirmed, let us hear what the laborious *Origen* says. For let not any one take what he said by way of Enquiry and Exercise only as if he spake it as his own Opinion; since he only therein personated other Disputants, and so without Fear seems to determine according to their Sentiments. But these are his own Sentiments. After therefore this Man had by way of Exercise spoken somewhat with regard to the Hereticks, he immediately adds his own Opinion in these Words, "If he be the Image of the invisible God, he is the invisible Image. I would venture almost to add farther, that being the Similitude of the Father, there is no Duration to be assign'd when he was not. For when had not God, who according to *John* is called Light, *For God is Light* (a), the Efflux of his own Glory? that any one should venture to assign a beginning to the Son, as if he were not in Being before. When was

(a) See *Athanasius* convicted of Forgery. (b) *De Decret. Synod Nican.* § 27. p. 232, 233. (c) 1 *John* I. 5.

“ it that the Image of the ineffable Substance of the Father, which
 “ is beyond all Name, or Speech, which is the Character and the
 “ Word that knows the Father, did not exist? Let him therefore
 “ that is so bold as to say there was a Duration when the Son was
 “ not, consider that he will in effect say there was a Duration when
 “ Wisdom was not, and Reason was not, and Life was not. Again,
 he speaks thus elsewhere, “ ’Tis not fit for us, nor free from Peril,
 “ on account of our Infirmity, to deprive God, so far as lies in us,
 “ of that only begotten Word which is always with him, and is
 “ that *Wisdom wherein he rejoiced*: For by this Means he will be un-
 “ derstood as not always rejoicing therein.

N. B. Tho’ we are not here to d in which of *Origen’s* Works these Words were found, and so can make little farther Enquiry about them And tho’ somewhat like Part of this might with more Probability be said by him, among some of his conjectural Hypotheses about the Eternity of the World, which he own’d as made by the Son, than by any other Catholick Christian of Antiquity; yet do I doubt they are spurious, and set down in the Way of Forgery, for the following Reasons. (1.) The rest of the *Athanasians* of the fourth Century are so far from alledging any such Testimonies against the *Eusebians* from *Origen*, that they openly owned him as on their Side, nay, as their grand Author and Father. (2.) The Language here that *there was a Duration when the Son was not*, as put into the Mouth of an Enemy, is so exactly and peculiarly the same which the *Athanasians* condemn’d in *Arius*, that the Quotation seems made on purpose to confront him. (3.) It is introduc’d in the same absurd Manner that the foregoing Forgery about *Dionysius* was, I mean with a Pretence that what *Origen* had said, which seem’d against him, was only for Exercise and Disputation sake; till he comes to these Words, which alone he will have to be his real Thoughts. This is evidently a meer Sham. and known to be so in the original Works of the same *Origen* still extant; as well as by *Jerom’s* and others Accounts of those that are now lost. In all which his Doctrine is undoubtedly on the Side of the *Eusebians* against the *Athanasians*; and has accordingly been very frequently condemn’d and abhorr’d by the *Athanasians* in the past Ages. And as to this suspicious Citation it self, hear what the learned Jesuit *Petavius* says, (a) “ This Account of *Athanasius* is a very surprizing
 “ one: And if it were any other Author than *Athanasius*, who
 “ was the Evidence for its being the genuine Writing of *Origen*,
 “ there would be just Room for Suspicion that it was an Interpolation, made by some of the Catholicks in the Books of *Origen*.

(a) *De Trinit.* l. 1. c. 4. § 6.

Eusebius of Cæsarea's Epistle to his Diocese, written from the Council of Nice.

1. (a) **T**IS probable that you, my Beloved, have been by other Means already informed what has been done as to the Ecclesiastical Faith at the great Synod that has been assembled at Nice; it being usual for common Fame to run before any accurate Account of such things. But lest such common Fame should give you an Account of the State of that Matter otherwise than it really happen'd, we have thought it necessary to send you the Copies, first of that Confession of Faith which was proposed by us; and in the next Place of that second Confession which the Council published, when they had made some Additions to those Articles which we had proposed. That Paper therefore which we drew up, and which was read in the Presence of our Emperor, most beloved of God, and which was own'd to be right, and was approv'd of, was in these Words: "As we have received from the Bishops which were before us, and in our first Catechizing, and when we were Baptiz'd; and as we have learned from the Holy Scriptures; and as we have believ'd when we were made Presbyters, and when we were made Bishops, and have taught the same; so do we now believe, and so exhibit our Faith. We believe in one God the Father, Almighty, the Maker of all things, visible and invisible. And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Word of God, God of God, Light of Light, Life of Life, the only-begotten Son, the First born of every Creature, begotten of the Father before all Worlds; by whom also all things were made; who was incarnate for our Salvation, and conversed among Men, and suffered and rose again the third Day, and ascended to the Father, and will come again in glory to judge the quick and the dead. We believe also in one Holy Ghost.

2. "We believe that every one of these Persons does really exist, and truly subsist: The Father, as really a Father; and the Son, as really a Son; and the Holy Spirit, as really an Holy Spirit; agreeably to what our Lord said, when he sent forth his Disciples to preach, *Go ye and make Disciples of all Nations, Baptizing them unto the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost* (b). Concerning which Articles we constantly affirm that they are true; and that we believe them to be so; and that we have all along be-

(a) *Ap. Athanas. Op. Tom. I. p. 238, &c. Theodorit. Hist. Eccles. l. 1. c. 12. Soerat. l. 1. c. 8. Gelas. Syxic. de Añ. Synod. Nicen.*
 (b) *Mat. XXVIII. 19.*

“ liev’d them, and will insist upon the Truth of this Faith until
 “ Death. Anathematizing every Atheistical Heresy. This we profess
 “ from our very Heart and Soul to have ever been our Sentiments
 “ from our first-Consciousness of our selves. And we solemnly affirm
 “ that they are what we now think, and what we affirm to be true in
 “ the Presence of Almighty God, and of our Lord Jesus Christ, and
 “ are ready to prove by certain Demonstrations, and to assure you
 “ that we have thus believed and preached for the time past also.

4. Now when we had given in this Exposition of our Faith there was no Body that could oppose it: But our Emperor, most beloved of God, did in the first Place attest that it was exactly orthodox; and profess that himself was of the very same Sentiments; and exhorted all present to subscribe and agree to these Doctrines, with the single Addition of this one Word, *Consubstantial*: Which Word also he thus explain’d, that *Consubstantial* was to be understood not after the Manner of Bodies, nor that the Son did exist from the Father by way of Division, nor according to any sort of Abscission; since his immaterial, and intelligent, and incorporeal Nature could not be subject to any bodily Affection; but that such Notions were to be conceiv’d of after a divine and ineffable Manner. Thus did our most wise and pious Emperor philosophize on this Matter. Upon Occasion of which additional Word *Consubstantial* the Synod compos’d this written Formulary.

The Creed that was dictated in the Synod.

“ **W**E believe in one God the Father, Almighty, Maker of
 “ all things visible and invisible. And in one Lord Jesus
 “ Christ, the Son of God, begotten of the Father, the Only-be-
 “ gotten, that is of the Substance of the Father; God of God,
 “ Light of Light, very God of very God, begotten, not made, of
 “ the same Substance with the Father, by whom all things were
 “ made, whether they be things in Heaven, or things on Earth;
 “ who for us Men and for our Salvation descended, and was incar-
 “ nate, and made Man; he suffer’d, and rose again the third day,
 “ and returned into the Heavens, and shall come again to judge
 “ the quick and the dead. And in the Holy Ghost. But for such
 “ as say there was a Duration when he was not; and that he was
 “ not before he was begotten; and that he was made out of no-
 “ thing; or that say that the Son of God was of another Substance,
 “ or Essence; or that he was mutable or changeable: Those the
 “ Catholick and Apostolick Church does anathematize.

5. When this written Formulary was dictated by them, we did not omit to enquire of them in what Sense they meant those Expressions which they used, *Of the Substance of the Father*, and
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Consubstantial with the Father. Whereupon Questions and Answers were moved; and in Discourse we endeavour'd to examine the Sense of those Expressions. Now as to the Words, *Of the Substance*, it was own'd by them that they declared that the Son was of the Father, but not as a Part of the Father. Whereupon we thought it was right to give our Assent in this Sense, as agreeable to the Christian Doctrine, which assures us that the Son is of the Father, but that he is not a Part of his Substance. And on the same Account we our selves assented to the Words in that Sense. Nor did we refuse to comply with the Word *Consubstantial*; out of regard to the Peace of the Church, which we had before our Eyes; and that we might not discard what might be taken in an orthodox Acceptation.

6. In like manner we admitted the Words *Begotten, not Made*; since they said that the Word *Made* was a common Word, used of the rest of the Creatures that were made by the Son; and with which the Son had nothing in common: And that accordingly he is not a *Being made* in like Manner with those that were made by him: But that he was of a Substance superiour to every *Made Being*; and which the sacred Oracles teach us was derived by Generation from the Father: While the Manner of his Generation is beyond Description and Comprehension of every Nature that was made.

7. In like Manner when the Reasonings about the *Consubstantiality* of the Son to the Father came under Examination, it appear'd that it was not meant after the Manner of Bodies, or in Agreement with mortal Animals; for it was own'd that it was not by Division of his Substance, nor by any Abcission, nor according to any Suffering or Conversion, or Alteration of either the Substance or Power of the Father; seeing the Unbegotten Nature of the Father is privileg'd from all such Affections: But that by this *Consubstantiality* to the Father, was declar'd thus much only, that the Son of God had no Resemblance to the Creatures which were made; but that he was in all respects like unto his Father who begat him: And that he was not deriv'd from any other Substance or Essence, but from the Father. To which Word, as thus explain'd, it seem'd reasonable to give our Assent; since we were sensible that some learned and eminent Bishops and Writers among the Ancients had made use of the Word when they discoursed of the Divinity of the Son.

8. And so much shall suffice as to the Confession of Faith then set forth; to which we all gave our Assent; but not till we had examined it, and had it upon Examination explain'd in the foregoing Sense in the Presence of the Emperor, most beloved of God: And at the same time own'd, as supported by the foregoing Reasons. And as to the Anathema's which follow this Creed, which was set forth by the Council, we thought we might without Reluctance comply with them; because they forbid Men to use Unscriptural Expressions; from whence almost all the Confusions and Disorders in

in the Churches have arisen. For while no Part of the inspired Scripture makes use of those Expressions, *He was made out of nothing*; and, *there was a Duration when he was not*, or the rest that follow, it seemed not reasonable to use them in our Discourse, or our Teaching: Which Determination we accordingly agreed to, as being right in our Opinion: Especially when we had never accustomed our selves before that time to make use of those Expressions.

9. And farther, the Anathema denounc'd against such as say, *He was not before he was begotten*, did not appear unreasonable: Since 'tis confess'd by all that he was the Son of God even before his Generation according to the Flesh.

10. Nay besides this, our Emperor, most beloved of God, confirm'd by Reason, that even as to his divine Generation he was before all Ages: Seeing that before he was actually begotten, he was *potentially* in his Father, when not yet begotten. The Father being always a Father; as he was always a King, and a Saviour, and every thing *potentially*; being always thus invariably and unalterably the same.

11. We have found it necessary, Beloved, to send you this Account; that we might make it evident to you with what Accuracy we made our Examination, and gave our Assent: How justly we insisted, even to the last Moment, upon the Explication of what seem'd to differ from that Form we had offer'd; and how without any Contradiction we received what was not uneasie to us; after we had in a friendly Manner examin'd the Meaning of the Words; and had found it agreeable to what we our selves had owned in the foregoing Confession of our Faith.

Note here (1.) That there is not the least Sign of the proper *Eternity*, or *Eternal Generation* of the Son of God, so much as heard of at the Council of *Nice*; but clearly that any sort of Eternity that could be then ascribed to him, was only a metaphysick Existence that he was *potentially*, or in some such *virtual* Way, in his Father before he was actually begotten by him. (2.) That the Word *Consubstantial*, in any strict and proper Sense, was not determin'd by this Council, but given up; and hardly any other Meaning insisted on than what the *Eusebians* could tolerably agree to: And the like may be said of the Words *Begotten not made* also; which gives us a plain Reason why they, and among them our *Eusebius*, did at first so generally subscribe it. (3.) That things were so manag'd that the Word *Consubstantial* was proposed by the Emperor himself, to be added; and that in the mildest Sense imaginable; otherwise it seems it could not easily have been carried: Especially against the Opposition of our *Eusebius*: who was evidently against all such unscriptural Language whatsoever, as the very Bane of the Church of Christ; tho' he too meanly complied with the Emperor and Council, when they determin'd to admit it. (4.) That the Creed of *Eusebius*, which is very agreeable to that in
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the Apostolical Constitutions, was then acknowledg'd by all the Bishops, and by the Emperor himself also at the Council of *Nice* to be true and orthodox, and ever owned for such by the Church: And so it affords an illustrious Attestation to the same Creed, and to those Constitutions wherein it is contain'd. (5.) That there is not the least Sign that the *Consubstantiality* of the Holy Spirit to the Father or the Son was so much as heard of at the time of this Council. Nay it seems rather evident by *Eusebius's* Appeal, as in the Presence of the Father, and of the Son, without a Syllable of the Holy Spirit, and the Approbation of all that writing by the Emperor, and the whole Council, that those who were for the *Consubstantiality* of the Son, had yet no Notion of the like *Consubstantiality* of the Holy Ghost. Which indeed was an Heresy that *Athanasius* first broach'd long after this Council; and of which there appear not the least Footsteps so early in all the Remains of the former Ages of the Church. (6.) That therefore the Doctrine of the Council of *Nice*, as it was then understood and explain'd, was much nearer to that Doctrine which has been long called *Arianism*, than to the *Athanasian*, as it was establish'd before and a little after his Death; and very much nearer to the same than to the *Athanasian* Heresy, as understood and improv'd in the latter Ages of the Church.

Athanasius's Epistle to Serapion the Bishop, about the Death of Arius.

Athanasius to our Brother and Fellow-worker Serapion sendeth greeting in the Lord.

1. (a) **I** Have received the Letters written by your Piety; wherein you exhort us to give you an Account of the present Occurrences; and of the State of the most impious Heresy of the *Arians*, on whose Account we suffer so much; and what end of his Life *Arius* had. These are the three things you require of me. As to two of which I have already very freely complied with your Desires, and have sent to your Piety what I wrote to the Monks. For you may learn by them both our own Affairs, and what concerns that Heresy. But as to the remaining Request of yours, I mean that about the Death of *Arius*, I mightily debated it with my self; as being afraid any one should suppose me inclin'd to insult over the Man's Death. However, since when you disputed about his Heresy

the Matter came to this Conclusion, Whether *Arius* had been admitted to the Communion of the Church before he died? on this Account, because the Narration of the Manner of his Death will put an End to that Dispute, I thought it was incumbent upon me to give it you: Looking upon it that this Account will put an End to your Disputes for the time to come. For I take it for granted that when this Wonder as to his Death is once known, those that pretended to argue before will not dare to doubt any longer, but that the *Arian* Heresy is hateful to God.

2. I was not indeed my self at *Constantinople* when he died; but *Macarius* the Presbyter was there; and I have heard it from him. *Arius* then was called for by the Emperor *Constantine*, at the Solicitation of the *Eusebians*. Whom, when he was come in, the Emperor interrogated, whether he held the Faith of the Catholick Church? Upon which he affirmed upon Oath that his Faith was orthodox, and gave the Emperor a written Confession of his Faith; concealing at the same time what he had been cast out of the Church for by *Alexander* the Bishop; and making use, in an hypocritical Manner, of the Words of Scripture. Now when he had upon his Oath affirmed that he had not held those Opinions for which *Alexander* had excommunicated him, the Emperor dismiss'd him with these Words: "If thy Faith be orthodox thy Oath is not a-miss; but if thy Faith be impious, and yet thou hast sworn, may God judge thee according to thy Oath. Hereupon he went out from the Emperor; and the *Eusebians*, according to their accustomed violent Methods of Procedure, resolved to introduce him into the Church. But the blessed *Alexander*, Bishop of *Constantinople*, opposed him and said, that the Inventor of an Heresy ought not to be admitted to Communion. Whereupon the *Eusebians* threatened and said, As we have caused the Emperor to send for him without your Leave, so shall *Arius* to Morrow, without your Leave, be present at the publick Assembly in this Church. Now it was the Sabbath Day when they said this.

3. Wherefore *Alexander* the Bishop when he heard this, was exceedingly troubled; and entering into the Church, and stretching out his Hands to God, he lamented his Case; and falling prostrate on his Face in the most holy Place he lay on the Ground, and prayed. *Macarius* also was with him, and prayed with him, and heard his Words. Now two Petitions he put up and said, "If *Arius* must be admitted to Morrow, Let me thy Servant depart in Peace, and do not thou destroy a pious Person with him that is impious. But if thou wilt have Mercy upon thy Church, as I know thou wilt, have regard to the Words of the *Eusebians*, and give not thine Inheritance to Destruction, and Reproach; and take away *Arius* out of this World; lest upon his entring into the Church Heresy may seem to be admitted with him, and so it come to pass that hereafter Impiety be look'd upon as Piety.

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When the Bishop had thus prayed, he went away, full of Concern: And what was very wonderful and surprizing happen'd. For as the *Eusebians* threatned, while the Bishop prayed, *Arius* himself was very bold, as relying on the *Eusebians*; and when he had said abundance of vain things, he went into a Privy, as if he had Occasion to ease himself; and immediately, as it is writtē, he *fell down headlong, and burst asunder in the midst (a)*, and falling down he presently died; and so was at once depriv'd of the Communion of the Church, and of his Life also.

4. This then was the end of the Life of *Arius*; and the *Eusebians* were greatly ashamed, and buried their Comrade. But the blessed *Alexander*, to the Joy of the Church, celebrated the Communion with Piety and Orthodoxy; praying for all the Brethren, and greatly glorifying God; not out of Joy for the Death of *Arius*, God forbid, for *it is appointed for all Men once to die (b)*, but because this was a supernatural Judgment. For the Lord himself judg'd between the Threats of the *Eusebians*, and the Prayers of *Alexander*, and condemned the *Arian* Heresy, and declared it unworthy of Ecclesiastical Communion, and made it manifest to all, that how much soever the Emperor or all Men might support it, yet was it condemned by the Church it self, and it was demonstrated that this mad Step of the *Arians*, who fought against Christ, is not acceptable but hateful to God. Accordingly many of those that had been formerly seduced turned from them. For it was not any other than that Lord who was blasphemed by them which condemned their Heresy, as raised against him. And this farther shews, that altho the Emperor *Constantius* does now compel the Bishops to consent to it, yet can it not be admitted to Communion in the Church; nor obtain an Entrance into Heaven: Let therefore the Question started among you cease for the time to come: For so it was agreed on among you, and let no one go over to that Heresy; but let those that have been seduced repent. For who will receive what the Lord has condemned? and how can he be other than guilty of great Impiety who receives it? or indeed other than an Enemy to Christ, seeing himself has made it incapable of Communion with the Church?

5. This Account is therefore sufficient to put those that are contentious to Shame. Read it therefore to those that were concern'd in the Question, as also what I have written briefly to the Monks; that so they may thereby more and more condemn the Impiety and Wickedness of those Mad-men the *Arians*. However, don't you pretend to give to any Body a Copy of this, nor to write out one for your self; for I have given the same Charge to the Monks also; but like a true Friend add what you shall think deficient to what I

(a) *Acts* I. 18. (b) *Heb.* IX. 27.

have written, and send this back again immediately. For you may inform your self out of that Epistle which I wrote to the Brethren what harm has come to me by somewhat that I wrote, and may still farther perceive it. On which Account 'tis not safe to publish the Writings of one so unskilful as I am; especially when they treat of the most sublime and fundamental Doctrines; lest my weak, imperfect, or obscure Manner of treating of these Matters, especially as to my Style, should be the Occasion of Mischief to those that read them. For many there are who don't regard the Faith or the Scope of the Writer; but take things as they please, according as they are moved by Envy, or Peevishness, as to what pre-conceiv'd Opinions they are pre-possess'd withal; and so put different Constructions after their own Humour upon what is written. Now the Lord grant that Truth, and that orthodox Faith which is in our Lord Jesus Christ may prevail among all Men, and especially among those to whom you read what I now write. *Amen.*

And in the following Epistle to the Monks thus:

(a)——For as to the *Arian* Heresy, that Judgment which God has given by the Death of *Arius*, which you have been inform'd of before by others, is sufficient for its Condemnation. For who can disannul the Will of the Holy God? and who will justify him whom the Lord has condemned? For who is there but he must own, after this wonderful Accident, that this Heresy is hateful to God; although it find great Patrons among Men. Upon your Receipt of this pray for us, and stir up one another to that Duty. But do you send this Epistle back to us immediately; and do not give a Copy of it to any Body living, nor do you transcribe one for your own Use, but content your selves like honest Money-changers, with the bare Perusal; which yet you may repeat several times: For 'tis not safe that our Writings, who are but Stammerers and Smatterers, should be transmitted to Posterity. Salute one another in Love; and all that come to you in Piety, and in the Faith. For *If any one, as the Apostle says, love not the Lord, let him be Anathema* (b). The Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you. *Amen.*

About three Years afterward *Athanasius* writes the same Story again at large to the Bishops of *Aegypt* and *Libya*; and adds these Words:

(c)——Now *Constantine*, of blessed Memory, presently heard of *Arius's* Death, not without Admiration; as perceiving that he was convicted hereby of Perjury.

Note here that this Story seems no better than a Forgery for the following Reasons. (1.) *Eusebius*, the most authentick Historian,

(a) § 3. p. 344. (b) 1 Cor. XVI. 22. (c) Op. Tom. I. § 18, 19. p. 288, 289, 290.

says not a Syllable of this Story; no not as then in the least so much as talked of by any body. (2.) It alone stands originally on the Credit of *Athanasius*, or at least as join'd to the Credit of *Macarius* his Presbyter, from whom he pretends to have had it, who were both the bitter and implacable Enemies of the Person concern'd. Now how very weak such a Testimony must be every impartial Man must needs readily understand. (3.) It is not mention'd, as far as appears, even by *Athanasius* himself till above twenty Years after it is pretended to have happen'd, which is very strange, if the Story were really true. (4.) It is all along mention'd only to serve a Turn, to confute the *Arians*, and gain Profelytes; and that use is openly own'd, and insisted on by *Athanasius* where ever he mentions it; which renders it still much more suspicious. (5.) He pretends that *Constantine* was deeply concern'd in it, and took great Notice of God's Judgment upon *Arius* thereby; yet does it no way appear that it had any Effect upon him, or that he at all deserted the *Arians* thereupon, or favour'd the *Athanasians* the more; Nay on the contrary 'tis agreed, that he soon after wrote very severely against *Athanasius*, and continued him in Banishment; nay, and committed himself thenceforth to the *Eusebians* till his very Death. (6.) This Account agrees ill with Chronology; For altho' it agree so well with *Ambrose*, as if he had it from *Athanasius*, yet it contradicts both *Rufinus* (a), the oldest Ecclesiastical Historian; and the *Chronicon Alexandrinum*: The former of which says that (b) it happen'd in the Days of *Constantius* and not of *Constantine*. And the latter, that *Alexander* the Bishop of *Constantinople* (c) therein mainly concern'd had been then dead no less than six Years. And it still agrees worse with *Epiphanius* (d); who, tho' he seems to have had the Story it self from the Accounts of *Athanasius*, yet places the Time expressly before the Council of *Nice* it self, contrary to all the rest: So that here is great Reason to suspect the whole Story upon account of this strange Disagreement about the Time when it happened. (7.) It also agrees very ill with *Socrates's* Account of it (e), as to not a few Particulars: Accordingly the *Benedictines* justly observe, that tho' *Socrates relates this History*, yet does he greatly differ from *Athanasius's Narration* (f): All which Differences still render the whole Story more doubtful and uncertain. (8) When *Athanasius* writes this Story to the very Bishops themselves, he supposes them to have known nothing of it before; which yet does very ill agree to his own and *Socrates's* Testimony, as to its publick Divulgarion, and was indeed morally impossible, had it happen'd so openly in the very Metropolis of the intire Empire as he pretends it did.

(a) *De Fide*, l. 1. c. 9. (b) *Hist. Eccl.* l. 1. c. 11, 12. (c) *Ad A. D.* 323. (d) *Heret.* LXVIII. § 5. LXIX. § 10. (e) *Hist. Eccl.* l. 1. c. 37, 38. (f) *Not.* p. 34^o.

(9.) He pretends that many of the *Eusebians* left their Heresy upon this Judgment on their Leader; of which no Signs do any where appear. Nay on the contrary the Years immediately following were to the *Eusebians* the most flourishing Times that ever they had.

(10.) His great Care in both the first Letters which mention this Story, that none but *Serapion* his Friend, and the Monks his Admirers should see it; and his solemn Charge they should permit no Copy to be taken by any one living, no not by themselves for their own Use; which Caution is not I think made use of in any other of his Writings; afford the most plain Grounds for Suspicion possible; and render the learned almost inexcusable when they pass this evident Mark of Forgery over unobserv'd; and seem to depend on the Truth of the Story notwithstanding. If I should spread abroad any such Story against any of my Adversaries, with but one quarter of the like Marks of Spuriousness and Insincerity, I do not doubt but I should soon hear of it again to my own Reproach and Confusion for ever.

Athanasius's Account of an orthodox Council of Sardica.

(a) T H E R E assembled in the City of *Sardica*, both from the East and West, One Hundred and Seventy Bishops in Number, more or less. Now those from the West were only Bishops, with *Hosius*, as a Father to them; but those from the East brought along with them as their Leaders and Patrons *Musonianus* the *Comes*, and *Helychius* the Colonel; on Account of whose Authority they came chearfully, as supposing they should carry all by such their Authority. For by that Means they always made themselves to be feared by whom they had a mind, and laid Snares for those they pleas'd. But as soon as they came, and saw that there would be an Ecclesiastical Tribunal only, without any *Comes*, or any Soldiers; as soon as they saw Men from every Church and City ready to accuse them; as soon as they saw those venerable Bishops *Arius* and *Asterius*, who came up along with themselves, but had now left them, and were able to declare their Craft, and tell how suspicious their Actions were, and how much they were afraid of bringing Matters to a publick Hearing, lest they should be convicted of false Accusation by us; and lest those they had suborn'd for Witnesses should discover that they had tamper'd with them, and contriv'd the whole Plot themselves: As soon as they saw all this, tho' they had taken great Pains to come thither, upon the Supposition that we durst not meet

(a) *Histor. Arian. ad Monach.* § 15, &c. *Op.* p. 352, &c.

them;

them; and as soon as they saw how ready we were for them they shut themselves up in the Palace; for there it was they liv'd; and thus they discours'd together afterward: "We came for one thing and find another: we came with *Comites*; and the Determination will be made without them. We shall certainly be condemned. You all know what they have in Command. The *Athanasians* have got Records from *Mareotis*, which will purge them, and put us to Shame. Why then do we stay here? Why do we tarry? Let us invent Excuses, and go our Way; lest we stay till we are condemned. We had better run away with some Shame, than be convicted of Calumny, and put to greater Shame. If we run away we may by one Means or other support our Heresy still And tho' upon our running away they should condemn us, we have however the Emperor for our Patron; who will not suffer us to be ejected out of our Churches by the People. After this *Athanasius* gives us an Account how shamefully these Eastern Bishops ran away from *Sardica*; and how thereupon he and his Companions were acquitted by the Council there, and his Adversaries declar'd guilty of Forgery, and Wickedness; and how many of the *Arian* Bishops were depos'd, and several pretended Letters and Monuments are alluded to here, and elsewhere (a) produc'd of the same Council of *Sardica*; as indeed several Canons are now in the usual Collections ascribed to this Council.

N. B. The Reasons of Suspicion as to this History are these: (1.) The Numbers in *Athanasius* and the rest of the Historians are very different (b). From 59 in *Hilary*, to about 300 at last in *Athanasius*; at least as understood by *Socrates* and *Sozomen*; who are both for the same Number also: While *Theodorit* is for 250, from his ancient Records. *Athanasius* has also the Names of 284 Subscribers; and they almost all of the West. Yet after all is he here express, that the whole Number both of the East and West was but about 170. (2.) *Ruffinus* makes no mention of this pretended Council at all: Which yet had it then been so famous for clearing *Athanasius*, and supporting the Doctrine of the Council of *Nice*, as *Athanasius* every where affirms, he would hardly have omitted. (3.) *Hilary* gives us a Copy of a Creed (c) of theirs which is plainly *Arian*; and that in the Name of the intire Council at *Sardica*; without the least Sign of its being made only by a part of it which fled to *Philippopolis*, as the other *Athanasians* pretend. Nor are any of those Monuments which agree to *Athanasius's* Accounts in *Hilary* extant in his genuine or intire Works; but only in those Fragments, the Origin and Authority of which are not a little uncertain. (4.) *Athanasius* himself elsewhere (d) cautions his Party not to

(a) *Apolog. contr. Arian.* § 36, &c. Op. p. 154. &c. (b) See the *Benedictines Notes* on p. 169. (c) *De Synod.* (d) *Tom. ad Antioch.* § 5. Op. p. 772.

read or regard a small Writing or Creed suppos'd to be made by the Council of *Sardica*; as if he were conscious of some such Authority against him, and for the *Arians*, which was then famous in the World. (5.) The Council of *Ancyra*, held but Eleven Years after this, and whose Synodical Epistle is still extant in *Epiphanius* (a), speaks directly of a Creed of this Council of *Sardica* among the other *Arian* Creeds of those Times. (6.) In the Conference at *Carthage* (b) as *Du Pin* observes, the Catholicks own'd that this Council of *Sardica* was made up of *Arian* Bishops. (7.) Their pretended Canons were never receiv'd by the Eastern Churches, nor would the Bishops of *Africa* own them; and they were us'd only by the Popes, as *Du Pin* observes, and cited by them, and that under the Name of the Council of *Nice*, to give them the greater Weight and Authority. So that at the bottom there is very great Reason for Suspicion about them, and that Council to whom they are ascrib'd. (8.) The whole History, as told by *Athanasius*, is very foolish, romantick, and incredible; that in the Days of the *Eusebian Constantius*, and under his Jurisdiction, the Eastern Bishops, of his own Opinion, supported by his Authority and Officers, and nearly, at least, equal in Number with those of the West, who were unsupported by any Authority, and under Discouragement also, should yet be so terrified at the meeting with them, as to run away in the most ignominious Manner possible, and thereby suffer *Athanasius* and his Partisans to triumph over them, and depose several of them at the same time. This I say requires somewhat more than the principal Criminal's own Testimony to be easily believ'd. Nor till we have better Evidence for his pretended authentick Monuments, will they be of any Value for his Justification. Such Records being, as far as I observe, seldom produc'd by him but in Cases which were so incredible that no other more ordinary Method of Prevarication would be sufficient for his Vindication: And almost all that is of this Nature appearing still unsupported by any other original Authority than his own; nay commonly contradicted thereby: as we have seen already, and shall see more upon several other Occasions.

Athanasius's Account of Hosius's forced Fall, and dying Repentance.

(c) *Constantius*, who was become a new *Ahab*, and another *Balthasar* in his Hatred against us, had no regard to any of those things on account of his Impiety; but offered such Violence

(a) *Heres.* LXXIII. § 2. (b) *Biblioth. on the Council of Sardica.*
 (c) *Histor. Arian. ad Monach.* §. 45. p. 372.

o the Old Man, that upon the Severity used to him he did at last, tho' not without Difficulty, communicate with the Followers of *Valens* and *Ursacius* the *Arians*; tho' without subscribing against *Athanasius*: Which Act of his the old Man did not yet neglect to atone for: For when he was dying he attested, as if it had been part of his last Will, that what he had done was owing to the Violence offered to him; he did then also both Anathematize the *Arian* Heresy, and gave Charge that no Body should receive it.

Hilary's Accounts of the same Hosius's Opinions in his latter Days.

(a) **T**HE Sentiments of *Potamius* the *Arian* at the *Arian* Council of *Syrmiun* are reckon'd by *Hilary* the very same with those of *Hosius* at the same Council.

(b) The Creed of the *Arian* Council of *Syrmiun* is called by him also, "The Blasphemies which were written at *Syrmiun* by *Hosius* and *Potamius*."

(c) The same Creed is by him said to be "that Doctrine which broke out at *Syrmiun* by *Hosius*; a Person that had forgotten his former Actions and Words; and to be the Effect of his new Impiety, which yet by that time was gradually come to Maturity. And *Hilary* says, "He will say nothing more about him, but that he was therefore reserved alive till that time, that no Man might be ignorant what a Life he had formerly liv'd."

Phæbadius's Account.

(d) **I** Am not unacquainted that the Name of that very ancient Priest *Hosius*, who was ever a ready Defender of the Faith, is levell'd against us, as a powerful Engine to destroy us; and as an Apology against any Rashness that may be imputed to those that contradict us. But as to those that make use of this Engine I will make but this very short Reply, that his Authority can be no Prejudice against us, since either he errs now, or he has ever erred formerly. For the World is sufficiently sensible what have been his Opinions to this his old Age; with what Constancy he gave his

Assent at the Council of *Sardica*, and at the Debates in the Council of *Nice*; and how freely he condemned the *Arians*. And if he be now of another Opinion, if he now defends all that he formerly condemned, and condemns what he formerly defended, I say it again, his Authority is no Prejudice against us. For if he has been mistaken in his Faith almost Ninety Years, I shan't believe that he is right in it after Ninety. Or if his present Faith be right, what shall we think of those that he baptiz'd while he was in his former Belief, and are since dead? Nay, what should we have been oblig'd to think of his own State if he had died before this Synod? So that, as we said before, the Authority of his former Opinion will be no Prejudice against us, because it is equally against himself. And indeed we read thus in the Scripture, *The Righteousness of the Righteous will not save him in the Day that he sinneth.* Amen.

Faustinus and Marcellinus's Account of the dying Faith and Behaviour of Hosius, who was Bishop in Spain, in their Neighbourhood.

(A) **N**AY, even *Hosius* himself being sent for to *Constantius* the Emperor, at the Complaint of *Potamius*, and terrified by Threatnings, fearing lest, old and rich as he was, he should be sent into Exile, or proscrib'd, he yielded to Impiety, and became a Deserter of the Faith, after so many Years. He returned back into *Spain* with greater Authority, and with a terrible Injunction from the Emperor, that in Case any Bishop would not communicate with him, now he was become a Deserter, he should be sent into Exile. Moreover, a faithful Messenger was sent to Holy *Gregory*, the Bishop of *Eliberis*, famous for his Constancy, to inform him of the impious Desertion of *Hosius*. Whereupon he would not be so wicked as to join in Communion with him, being mindful of the sacred Faith, and of the divine Vengeance. Whereupon *Hosius*, who esteemed the Constancy and Firmness of every Body else in vindicating the Faith, now he was fallen, as a Torment to himself, order'd this stout and resolute *Gregory* to be brought before him, by a publick Officer; in hopes that he might yield to that Terror which himself had submitted to. — They came to the Emperor's Deputy, where many of the inferiour Officers were present; and *Hosius* sat as Judge; nay rather as superiour to the Judge, by his Dependence on the Royal Authority. — But as soon as Holy

(a) *Libell. Prec. ad Imperat. apud maximam Bibliothecam veterum patrum* Secul. IV, Part 2, Tom. V. p. 654, 655.

Gregory perceiv'd that he would pass the Sentence of Deprivation upon him, and so reject him from the Episcopal Function, he made his Appeal to Christ, the powerful Judge; and cried out in the utmost Strength of his Faith, O Christ, who art God, who wilt come to judge the quick and the dead, be pleas'd not to permit this Day any Sentence of Man to be pronounc'd against me, the least of thy Servants, who am now made an Offender, and a Spectacle for the Faith of thy Name; but do thou, I beseech thee, be Judge in thine own Cause: Do thou be pleas'd to judge and revenge my Cause. I don't desire this out of any fear of Exile; since any sort of Punishment that shall happen to me on account of thy Name will be sweet to me; but that many may be brought off their Error and Prevarication, by seeing such an immediate and instant Example of thy Vengeance. Accordingly, while he was calling on God in such faithful Words as were still more severe and affecting, behold *Hosius*, on a sudden, as he was endeavouring to denounce the Sentence, changed his Countenance, and had his Neck distorted, and by falling from his Seat was dash'd against the Ground; and there he breath'd out his last; or, as some say, was taken speechless; and however was carried away for dead.—Don't you perceive here a wonderful Demonstration of God's condemning the Prevarication of *Hosius*? All *Spain* knows very well that this is not a Fiction of our own.—Nay farther, *Potamius* also, who had been guilty of the like Prevarication from the Faith, found himself punish'd with the like Vengeance.—*Florentius* also, who after he knew of the Desertion of *Hosius* and *Potamius*, and had once communicated with them, was also himself punish'd after an unusual Manner, &c.

Note here, That *Athanasius's* Account is so far from being in the least supported by any other Evidence, that it is overthrown by these four conspiring Testimonies, which are all that are extant thereto belonging in that Age, and who were all zealous *Athanasians*. *Hilary* directly reckons *Hosius* as one of the Authors of that *Arian* Creed which he esteem'd blasphemous; he supposes that this Change in *Hosius* was not sudden, as from the Threats of the Emperor, but gradual, and the Fruit of his own Deliberation; and that this Change was evident and undeniable. *Phabadius* plainly allows that not only the Example, but the Authority and Reputation of *Hosius* pinch'd the *Athanasians*, as well as his Arguments and Reasonings: Which would not have been so had he only been over-rul'd to an unwilling Submission; and the same Person directly implies that his present Notions were so diametrically opposite to the *Athanasians*, that there was little hope for Salvation on both Sides; but that the one must rather expect to perish for ever. And as to the two last, *Faustinus* and *Marcellinus*, they not only own this Change to have been intire in *Hosius*, tho' they are disposed to charge it on the Emperor's Violence, that they complain of him as

of

of a notorious Persecutor of the *Athanasians*; and so pretend, that as *Arius*, and *Potamius*, and *Florentius* were punished by the immediate Vengeance of God for supporting *Arianism*, so was *Hosius* also, and that in a remarkable Manner; either by a real, or at least a seeming Death; to the great Terror of the Emperor's Deputy, as well as to the rest of the Spectators. I shall say nothing here of this *Athanasian* Method of pretending to divine Judgments on their Adversaries, because there is great Reason to suspect it all to be Forgery; but certainly this Story of the Judgment on *Hosius* must imply at least that these two Presbyters, who liv'd near him, knew well that *Hosius* was a real, nay a hearty and vehement Opposer of the *Athanasians* in his old Age, till his Death; and never heard of that Repentance of his which *Athanasius*, at so much farther distance, pretends to have been assured of. So that all these four *Athanasians* are so many strong Witnesses that *Athanasius's* foregoing Account of *Hosius* is no better than a Forgery: And if so, 'tis in all probability one of *Athanasius's* own coining; and a notorious Instance by what wicked Arts that pernicious Heresy which he advanc'd was impos'd on the Christian World.

Athanasius's Quotation of Acts XX. 28.

Text.] **T**O feed the Church of God which he purchased by his own Blood.
 N. B. This Language of the Blood of God was unknown in the Church before the Days of *Marcellus* and *Athanasius*; all the ancient Quotations, such as those of the Apostolical Constitutions, *Ignatius's* larger or genuine Epistles, *Irenaeus*, *Origen*, the *Syriack* Version, the *Alexandrian*, and *Beza's*, as well as several other MSS, and even the Quotations of many of the *Athanasians* in the fourth and fifth Centuries, have here the Church of the Lord, or of Christ; nay several of the MSS. of *Athanasius* have it so also in this very Place. The Spurious or Smaller Epistles of *Ignatius* therefore, with some Copies of *Athanasius*, are all the ancient Authorities which appear for the common reading; and that against the most undeniable Evidence to the contrary. So that this famous Bulwark of Modern Orthodoxy is evidently a Corruption of the *Athanasians*, or of their good Friends the *Marcellians* in the fourth Century.

N. B. Upon this Occasion let us set down some other Texts which are also look'd on as great supports of the same Orthodoxy; and see what Reason there is for Suspicion that their present Readings were not the original ones.

Text.] —Who is over all, God blessed for ever. Amen. (a)

N. B. 'Tis generally suppos'd that this Text was expounded of the Son, that he was the God over all, blessed for ever, here menti-

on'd by *Paul*, even by *Irenæus* himself in the second Century, but without any certain Authority. For he only once cites (a) the bare Text it self, and that not to prove the Divinity of our Saviour, but that the Son of God was also the Son of Man; which the foregoing Words, *Christ according to the Flesh*, imply. All that appears is, that his *Latin* Translator, whoever he was, render'd the Words as the vulgar *Latin* and our Modern Versions do now; and that three other *Latin* Authors, *Tertullian*, *Novatian*, and *Cyprian* followed the same Version. While 'tis most highly probable that the original Reading was *ὁ ὅς*, instead of *ὁ ὅς*, or *whose is* for *who is*, as several of the best Criticks do now agree; and certain that neither the Constitutions of the Apostles, nor *Ignatius*, *Justin Martyr*, *Irenæus*, or any *Greek* Writer in two Centuries ever quoted it to prove the Divinity of our Saviour, when yet they all collected the other Texts for that Purpose against the *Ebionites* and *Jews*; while yet in the modern Notion it is much the strongest of all other. And that *Origen*, who in the present Copies interprets it as styling our Saviour *God over all*, does elsewhere (b) appropriate that Title to the Father, and look on it as great Rashness to give it the Son.

Text.] *God was manifested in the Flesh* (c).

N. B. We never hear of the Word *God* in this Text till the Days of *Gregory Nyssen*, about A. D. 380. Nor do we find it at all quoted by any of the elder Writers, no not among the *Athanasians* themselves, whenever they collect the Texts for the Divinity of our Saviour, which they do very frequently and fully. This is well observ'd and exceedingly wonder'd at by *Dr. Mills* upon the Place: And this Observation cannot but render this reading very suspicious: Especially when so many ancient Copies and Versions have not that Word, particularly the *Alexandrian MS.* (otherwise that bold Pen which is own'd to have lately tamper'd with it there, to make it orthodox, would have had no occasion for such a wicked Procedure;) and when we know from History, that (d) *Macedonius*, the Patriarch of *Constantinople* was turned out of that See by the Emperor *Anastasius* for inserting it in some Copies, about the End of the fifth Century of the Church.

Text.] *There are three that bear Record in Heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost; and these three are one* (e).

This Text being in not one *Greek*, and in but one or two *Latin* Copies, Versions or Quotations in five hundred Years; and scarce at this Day appearing in the Text of any one *Greek MSS.* Ancient or Modern, it is to be esteem'd a visible and a gross Interpolation; and so this is of no manner of Authority, as I have more fully shew'd elsewhere (f).

(a) I. III. c. 18. p. 239. (b) See contr. *Cels.* I. VIII. p. 387, 388.
 (c) I *Tim.* III. 16. (d) See *Mills in Loc.* (e) I *John* V. 7. (f) Vol. IV, Artic. XXII. p. 379, 380, 381. We

Text.] *We know that the Son of God is come, and hath given us an Understanding that we may know him that is true, [or the True God;] and we are in him that is true, even in his Son Jesus Christ. This is the true God, and eternal Life (a).*

N. B. Since no ancient Christian, no not *Athanasius* himself before the Council of *Nice*, ever quoted this Text for the Divinity of Christ, or call'd our Saviour *the True God*; Nay, since all then own'd this last as the peculiar Title of the Father; 'tis pretty plain they did not believe that the Apostle called Christ *the True God* in this Place. 'Tis probable therefore they either referr'd the Particle *this* to the Father; or read the Words somewhat different from our present Copies.

N. B. We may here also observe how little Foundation there is for those Expositions of some other Texts which are made use of by the Modern *Athanasians*.

Text.] *I and the Father are One (b).*

The Parallels are these.

That they all may be one, as we are (c).

That they all may be one, as thou Father art in me, and I in thee; that they also may be one in us; that the World may believe that thou hast sent me. — That they may be one, even as we are one. I in them, and thou in me; that they may be made perfect in one.

He that planteth and he that watereth is one (d).

He hath made both one (e).

N. B. I do not remember that the foregoing Text was ever expounded of *Unity of Substance*, or in any like manner but by *Tertullian*, till the Days of *Athanasius*; and do verily believe that Phrase never so signifies in any good Author whatsoever.

The Son of Man, which is in Heaven (f).

Before Abraham was I am (g).

The Parallels.

What and if ye shall see the Son of Man ascend up where he was before (h)?

This one thing I know, that being blind, I now see (i).

Where I am, there shall also my Servant be (k).

Yet a little while I am with you (l).

I come again, and will receive you to my self: that where I am, ye may be also (m).

Am I so long time with you, and hast thou not known me, Philip (n)?

Ye are with me from the beginning (o).

I came out from the Father, and am come into the World: Again I leave the World, and go to the Father (p).

That where I am they also may be with me (q).

(a) 1 John V. 20. (b) John X. 30. (c) XVII. 11. 21, 22, 23.
 (d) 1 Cor. III. 8. (e) Eph. II. 14. (f) John III. 13. (g) VIII. 58.
 (h) VI. 62. (i) X. 25. (k) XII. 26. (l) v. 33. (m) XIV. 3. (n) v. 9.
 (o) XV. 27. (p) XVI. 28. (q) XVII. 24. Being

Being rich, he for your sakes became poor (a).

We shall see him as he is (b).

N. B. This promiscuous Use of the Particles and Tenses elsewhere, especially by St. John himself, with the perfect Silence of all the ancient Fathers as to the orthodox Deductions from these Texts, render those Deductions exceeding weak and precarious.

Text.] *Who being in the form of God, did not assume to be equal to God; but made himself of no Reputation* (c).

N. B. There appearing no Example that this *Greek Phrase ἀεπαγμων ἡγήσασθαι* ever signified, *thought it no Robbery*, as the Moderns here render it; and the ancient Fathers both *Greek and Latin* understanding it otherwise, even among the *Athanasians* themselves; and the *ἀλλὰ*, but in the next Sentence necessarily requiring the rendering here given, 'tis a Shame that any should justify the ordinary Translation of these Words, or that novel Doctrine of the Equality of the Son to the Father that is built upon it, as I have elsewhere observ'd (d).

N. B. The *Athanasians* have not only corrupted several Texts, and misinterpreted others, to serve their own Purpose, but have also invented Distinctions utterly unknown to the ancient Christians, to evade the plainest Texts and Testimonies against them. Thus to get clear of the undeniable Passages in Antiquity for the Inferiority of the Son to the Father, both as to Goodness, Knowledge, and Power, they have invented a famous Distinction between the compleat Divinity, and compleat Humanity of our Saviour; and so interpret Passages of Scripture of the one or the other, as occasion serves; while the original Writers speak of him as of one Being, as much as we are; and indeed as properly a Divine Person inhabiting in a humane Body; without the Allowance of any such intire humane Nature, or humane Soul at all in him. They should first prove that those original Writers owned such a humane or rational Soul in Christ before they make use of the Evasions depending thereon. Thus to get clear of the voluntary Generation or Creation of our Saviour by the Father, in the Sense those Words, especially the latter, most obviously signify, I mean in Opposition to a real Co-eternity, the *Athanasians* have not only pretended that the latter Word *Created* is hardly ever used in that Case, contrary to undeniable Evidence in Scripture and Antiquity; but have supposed that the former Word *Begotten*, has a much more mysterious Sense than the other, and implies somewhat of a Co-eternity; without the least Original for such a Distinction or Interpretation. Thus also when it appears evident that the *Greek Words* *οὐσία* and *ὑπόστασις* originally signified *Essence or Substance*

(a) 2 Cor. VIII. 9. (b) 1 John III. 2. (c) Philip. II. 7. (d) Vol. IV. Artic. 4. p. 86, 87.

promiscuously, and it was still owned that the Father and Son, and Holy Spirit, were three *Essences*, or three *Substances*, i. e. three Beings numerically distinct, the Orthodox have in later Ages made a nice Distinction between those Words, and have determined that they are one *ὁσία*, *Essence* or *Substance*, but three *ὑποστάσεις* *Substances*, or, as they are forc'd to speak, *Subsistences* or *Persons*, without any Pretence to original Authority for such a Distinction. Thus have the old *Athanasians* made a yet stranger Distinction as to the famous Place of the Proverbs, *The Lord created me, the beginning of his Ways, for his Works. He founded me before the World; in the beginning, before he made the Earth, and before he made the Deep, before the Fountains of Waters came forth, before the Mountains were fastened; he begat me before all the Hills* (a): As if the first Words, *He created me, the beginning of his Ways, for his Works*, belong'd to his humane Nature, and the Incarnation; and the rest, particularly *he begat me before all the Hills*, belong'd to his divine Nature, and its eternal Generation; contrary to the plainest Sense of Words imaginable. This I take to be one of the grossest Impositions that was ever put upon the Church by *Athanasius*, and in which the Moderns of his Party are asham'd to follow him: Tho' it seems to be one of the principal Distinctions he ever depends on against the *Arians*. Thus have the Modern *Athanasians* been forc'd to introduce the *Hypostatical Union*, and *Communication of Properties*, in the Consideration of the Divine and Humane Natures of our Saviour, in order to get clear of many terrible Difficulties, which their Hypothesis must otherwise have been liable to; of which Notions or Language yet we hear not a Word in all genuine Antiquity: And which are therefore to be look'd on as meer Subterfuges and Evasions, without all Authority in the World. Thus even Bishop Bull himself is forc'd in one Place (b), in order to secure or excuse *Origen* when he was utterly against solemn Prayer to Christ, not only to distinguish between Christ, as *God*, and as *God and Man*; but under the Notion of his being *God*, to subdistinguish him again as *God absolutely*, or as *God relatively*, i. e. *God of God*, and the *Son of God*; and this without the least Foundation for such a Distinction; and in order to avoid one of the plainest Testimonies in the World. I beg of the Reader who hesitates here to have Recourse to the original Passage in *Origen*, which I have produc'd elsewhere (c); and then to consider what Words can possibly be plain and clear if those of *Origen* be not so; and what Doctrine can possibly be so accurately express'd but that, by the help of such Distinctions and Subdistinctions, it may be puzzled and confounded for ever.

(a) Prov. VIII. 22. (b) *Defens. Fid. Nic. Sect. II. c. 9. § 15.*
(c) Vol. III. p. 72.

Athanasius's Account of Ignatius's Assertion, that
our Saviour was Unbegotten.

(a) **N**OW Ignatius, who was ordained Bishop of *Antioch* after the Apostles, and was a Martyr for Christ, when he wrote concerning the Lord, said thus, "There is one Physician, fleshly and spiritual, Begotten and Unbegotten, a God in Man, the true Life in Death, derived from *Mary* and from God.—— If then we believe that the blessed Ignatius wrote truly when he said he was Begotten, according to the Flesh; for Christ was made Flesh; but Unbegotten, as he was not one of the Made or Begotten Beings: &c.

Note (1.) That I render γεννητός and γενητός, equally Begotten, as well as ἀγεννητός and ἀγενητός, Unbegotten; notwithstanding the Nicery of the Athanasians, who have been so hard put to it that they have been willing here to drop the Letter γ in ἀγεννητός, and then to interpret it not Unbegotten but Unmade, as ashamed to allow that either Ignatius or Athanasius should affirm the Only begotten of the Father, and he that was Begotten before all Worlds, to be Unbegotten; and this in Opposition to all the Copies of Ignatius, and to one at least of Athanasius. But as to this Distinction between them, it is contrary to all earlier Antiquity. For as the *Benedictines* rightly observe (b), "This Distinction seems to have been unknown to the ancient Writers. And accordingly they shew that ἀγεννητός signifies Unbegotten, or Unoriginated, in Cicero, and Plato, and Hilary, and Tertullian, without being able to mention one for this Athanasian Distinction between them; on which yet great Matters are own'd to depend in the present Case. Nor does Athanasius deny that others of the like Masters and Doctors of the Church with Ignatius affirm'd that the Father was peculiarly and alone Unbegotten: Which is indeed no other than one of the most fundamental Doctrines of our whole Religion, and ever own'd for such in all Ages.

Note (2.) That this Citation out of Ignatius (c) is intirely contrary to the constant Doctrine of Ignatius himself, in his larger or genuine Epistles; and is only an heretical Insertion or Interpolation of Marcellus or some of his Followers, who made that spurious Extract or Epitome which is called the smaller Epistles; and is indeed a known and peculiar Part of the Heresy of Marcellus, in that Century.

(a) *De Synod.* § 47. p. 761. (b) *Admonit. ante Decret. Synod. Nicen. Op.* p. 207. (c) *See Dissertat. on Ignat. Epist.* p. 14. and 56.

Note (3.) That therefore this Quotation out of a spurious Book, made in *Athanasius's* own Time, by his own intimate Friend and Fellow Heretick *Marcellus*, or some of his Followers, could hardly be other than wilful in *Athanasius*; and so is a notorious Instance of that *Heretical Pravity* which has still been the Method of the elder Hereticks, and of their Successors the *Athanasians* the Supporters of Antichristianism ever since.

Note (4.) (a) That as *Athanasius* could hardly be unacquainted with the larger or genuine Epistles of *Ignatius*, which expressly in this Place, as well as every where else, affirm that the Father is alone *Unbegotten*, and the Son on the contrary *Begotten* by him; so does he afford us a probable Indication of his own Knowledge of the same genuine Epistles, even as to this very Passage, by saying Immediately *for Christ was made Flesh*: Which the smaller Epistles have not a Syllable of; while the larger, in this very Passage, have the parallel Words of *John*, *For the Word was made Flesh*; as well as by his owning and discoursing upon our Saviour's *Generation* immediately, which the same larger Epistles gave him the fairest Occasion to do.

Athanasius's Account of the Council of Antioch's rejecting the Consubstantiality; and how it nevertheless agreed with the Council of Nice which established it.

(b) **B**UT since, as the *Arians* pretend, (for I have not the Epistle by me,) those Bishops that condemned *Paul of Samosata* said thus in their Letter, *That the Son is not Consubstantial to the Father*: Which makes them out of Regard and Veneration to those that said so unwilling to make use of that Word any more, it will be proper to debate this Matter with them in a religious Manner. For to oppose one Council to the other would be indecent. For they are all Fathers; and to make a different Construction of their Determinations, as if the one spake well, and the other ill, would be next to Impiety: For they are all fallen asleep in Christ. We ought not therefore to raise a Dispute, nor to count the Number of the Bishops that met together, in order to shew that the greater Number of three hundred is sufficient to eclipse the smaller Number before: Nor ought we on the other Side to mention the Difference as to their times of meeting, in order to

(a) *Ubi supra.* (b) *De Synodis*, § 43. p. 757.

prove that the Prior Decrees of the one, are sufficient to disannul those that were made afterward ; for they are all, as we said before, Fathers. And neither did the three hundred write what they did, as having any new Opinions ; nor did they so confide in their own Abilities as to patronize Words not before made use of ; but as they came from the Fathers themselves, they made use of their Words. For the two *Dionysij* were much elder than those Seventy who deposed *Paul of Samosata*, the one of which was Bishop of *Rome*, and the other of *Alexandria*. [Then is *Athanasius's* Story about *Dionysius* of *Alexandria*, and his Vindication or Recantation to his Namesake of *Rome* repeated, of which before.]—(a) And altho' the Fathers of both Synods spake of the Consubstantiality after a different Manner, we ought not to quarrel about them ; but to search more nicely into their Meaning ; and then we shall find that both Synods agreed together. For as to those that deposed *Paul of Samosata* they took the Consubstantiality after a bodily Manner ; while *Paul* plaid the Sophister, and said, if Christ was not made a God of a Man, he must have been *Consubstantial* to the Father, and there must have been three Substances, one the Principal and two others derived from it. On this account they were afraid of such kind of sophistical Reasonings of *Paul of Samosata* ; and so they said that *Christ was not Consubstantial to him*. For the Son is not so deriv'd from the Father as he suppos'd. But then those that Anathematiz'd the *Arian* Heresy, tho' they were sensible of the crafty Reasonings of *Paul*, and especially on this Consideration, that *Consubstantial* is a Word not to be applied in the same Manner to incorporeal Beings, and especially to God ; and owning that the Word was not a Creature, but an Offspring deriv'd from the Substance of the Father ; and that the Substance of the Father is the Principle, and the Root, and the Fountain of the Son ; and the most exact Resemblance of him that begat him : Not as a Being of any extraneous Original, and separate from the Father, as we are ; but as a Son deriv'd from his Father, and still inseparable from him, as the Ray is inseparably deriv'd from the Luminary : And having before their Eyes the Examples in *Dionysius*, as that of a Fountain, and his Apology about the Consobstantiality, and that earlier Language of Union which our Saviour used, *I and the Father are one* (b), And, *He that hath seen me, hath seen the Father* (c) ; On these Accounts they themselves also did justly affirm that the Son was *Consubstantial* to him. — For each Synod had its peculiar and sufficient Reasons why the one spake one Way, and the other another. For whereas *Paul of Samosata* was of Opinion that the Son did not exist before *Mary*, but had the beginning of his Being from her ; thereupon it was that the Bishops who assembled at that time

(a) § 45. p. 759. (b) *John* X. 30. (c) *XIV.* 9.

depos'd him, and declar'd him an Heretick; but speaking more grossly about the Divinity of the Son, they did not arrive at the Accuracy of the *Consubstantiality*, while they spake according to their own plain Conceptions about the *Consubstantiality*. For their whole Care was to destroy the Opinions of *Paul of Samosata*; and to declare that the Son was before all things; and that he was not of a Man made a God; but as being before God, he put on the Form of a Servant; and as being already the Word, he was made Flesh (a); as *John* affirms. And this was the Management in Opposition to the Blasphemy of this *Paul*. But then, whereas the *Eusebians* and *Arians* confels'd that the Son was before time, but taught that he was a *Being made*, and one of the *Creatures*; and when they said he was derived from God, they did not believe that to have been as an own Son is derived from the Father, but as one of the *Creatures*; and in that Sense only did they affirm that he was derived from God. They also said that the Unity of Likeness of the Son to the Father was not as to his Essence, or as to his Nature, as a Son is like to his Father, but by the Agreement of their Sentiments and Doctrine: Nay indeed, they did intirely separate and put a Difference between the Substance of the Son, and the Father; as supposing some other Principle for his Existence besides the Father; and depressing him as low as the *Creatures*. On this account it was that those that assembled at *Nice*, when they saw the Craftiness of those of that Opinion, and collected the Meaning of the Scripture Expressions, wrote their Minds more expressly, and said, *he was Consubstantial*.—Altho' therefore some of the Fathers have said one thing about the *Consubstantiality*, and some another, let us not contend about them: But let us piously receive what comes from them both; especially because they both zealously promoted the Christian Religion. [Then comes in *Athanasius's* Quotation out of *Ignatius*, and Reasonings thereupon, of which above, after which he goes on thus:] (b) Why then cannot we with equal Piety embrace the Fathers, both those that depos'd *Paul of Samosata*, and those that openly triumphed over the *Arian* Heresy? Why do we yet them at Variance? and not rather entertain right Notions about them? Seeing, as I said, the former had regard to the sophistical Arguings of *Paul of Samosata*, and his Exposition of this Word, and thereupon wrote that the Son is not *Consubstantial*: And the latter, having Sentiments equally sound with the other, said, he is *Consubstantial*. For this is my Opinion about these Persons, who on both Sides were studious of Christian Piety, which I have here briefly set down. But if it were possible for me to have the Use of that Epistle which they say the *Antiochian* Fathers wrote, I suppose that I could discover many more Reasons which forced those bles-

(a) p. 760. (b) § 47. p. 761.

sed Persons to write in that Manner. For 'tis fit and reasonable for us to have such Sentiments, and to preserve so good a Temper of Mind with respect to the Fathers; unless we be our selves Basters; while we have the traditionary Doctrines from them; and from them also have received the Doctrine of Piety.

Basil's Account of the same Matter.

- (a) **A**ND indeed those Bishops which assembled about *Paul of Samosata* disliked the Word Consubstantial, as of an ill Signification; for they said that the Word Consubstantial imply'd the Notion of Substance, and of the Properties derived from it; as if the Substances being divided did thence afford the Name of Consubstantial to those Beings among whom it was distributed.
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Hilary's Account.

- (b) **P**AUL of *Samosata* own'd the Consubstantiality in an ill Sense.

Note here (1.) That *Athanasius* writes in Vindication of the Council of *Antioch* after his usual way, I mean, without pretending to have seen that Epistle of theirs wherewith he was concern'd: While yet 'tis very hard that he should not either have procur'd that Epistle it self, which he was to answer; or have said nothing about it. This fundamental Flaw renders all his Pretences here of no real Authority at all: Especially when, (2.) He owns that his Account is all meer Hypothesis or Supposition; and he does not so much as pretend to any other History or Records to justify what he alledges in this Case. Nay he plainly tells us that he does not doubt but he could have invented other Solutions also, had he seen the original Letter it self. (3.) He mainly argues for a Reconcilement between them, not from Evidence and Testimony, but from good Nature and Tenderneſs for dead Bishops; because 'tis pity we should suppose the one Council contradicted the other; seeing they were both composed of such Bishops as liv'd and died religiously many Years ago. A strong way of Reasoning, and very cogent this! Tho'

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I don't I confess, see why we may not now as well prove that the Council of Nice, and those of Tyre, Jerusalem, Constantinople, and all the rest were at the bottom of the same Mind, and ought to be own'd as such by all Posterity, for the very same Reasons. (4.) He also fully owns that the Decrees of these two Councils were in Words directly and expressly contradictory to one another; and only guesses why and wherefore they made such contradictory Decrees: As if not the Truth or Falsehood of Assertions, but the prudential Reasons and political Motives of Language were in Question: Which is indeed *Athanasius's* Subterfuge upon abundance of Occasions elsewhere also; to confound the Reader, and to divert him from the Merits of the Cause he is about. (5.) He here either grossly mistakes or wilfully imposes on us in the point of Chronology, to serve his own Purpose. For in order to invalidate the Testimony of the Council of *Antioch* against the Consubstantiality, he not only pretends that the two *Dionysij* of *Rome* and *Alexandria* were for it, [though without any Testimony but his own] but that they both liv'd earlier, nay much earlier than that Council; and elsewhere (a) says what implies their Writings to have been near 30 Years before it, while yet 'tis undoubted from its whole History that both these Bishops were perfectly contemporary with those of that Council, and both concern'd in the Affairs of it. And I own I cannot but ascribe this to known Forgery, rather than to such gross Ignorance: For how was it possible for a Patriarch of *Alexandria* not to know when one of his own Predecessors liv'd; while there was scarcely 30 Years between the Death of the former, and the Birth of the latter? However, if *Athanasius* knew not things so obvious and near his own Time; his Knowledge in other Matters, more difficult and more remote, will certainly not deserve any great regard from us. (6.) He also either mistakes or imposes on us when he give us but 70 as the Number of Bishops that were present at the Council of *Antioch*: Since those *Athanasians* that speak the most moderately (b), I mean *Basil* and *Hilary*, own they were 80, while *Basil* the Deacon and other Monks afterward count 180, and *Eusebius* himself, who was born about that very Time, and gives us the History of that Council (c), is express, that in a manner all the Bishops of the Christian World were there; and in particular that it was an exceeding numerous Council. And by the way we may here take Notice, that as *Athanasius* has unjustly diminish'd the Number of the Bishops at that disagreeable Council of *Antioch*, (d) so does he seem as unjustly to have increas'd that of his beloved Council of *Nice*. For tho' he says in one Book they were 300, in

(a) *Ad Afros* § 6. p. 896. (b) *Not. Benediſt. in Op.* p. 757.
(c) *Hist. Eccl. l. VII. c. 27. 29.* (d) *See Edit. Benediſt. p. 143.*
144. 383. 757. 892.

another 300 under or over, and at last in another just 318, yet do no other original certain Testimonies pretend they were so many. Since *Eustathius*, the Patriarch of *Antioch* (a), who was there present, only reckons about 270: And the much more accurate and authentic *Eusebius* himself (b), who was there also, reckons them only somewhat above 250. So that there is reason to doubt whether the former Council were very much inferior in Number to the latter; as has been of late suppos'd, tho' chiefly upon the very weak and partial Authority of *Athanasius*. (7.) In short, these few and disagreeing Accounts which we have in *Athanasius*, *Basil*, and *Hilary*, about the Occasion and Import of the Term *Consubstantial*, at the Time of this Council of *Antioch*, seem so ill supported, or rather, so intirely built upon Supposition, that we cannot in the least depend on them. And all the Certainty we can pick out here is, that this other Council of *Antioch* plainly declar'd that Christ was not *Consubstantial to the Father*, in direct Contradiction to the later Determination of the Council of *Nice*.

N. B. As to all the tedious Relations about the particular Crimes charged upon *Athanasius*, and for which he was condemn'd at the Council of *Tyre*, with the History of *Ursacius* and *Valens*, and of the Council of *Ariminum*; and all the Excuses and Apologies about them which we meet with in him or his Followers afterwards, I shall only give a Hint at the Reasons of Suspicion, as to such Matters, and so leave the more full Enquiry after these perplexed Affairs to such as shall be dispos'd to spend a longer time about them. In which Cases I observe, (1) That hardly any one eminent Story is told alike by the several Historians, and by *Athanasius* himself; unless when any of the rest appear to have taken their Accounts from him only. (2.) That they hardly ever agree in the Time when such Facts were done, which they relate; unless where the rest directly, as before, depend on *Athanasius*'s own Narration. (3.) That they rarely agree in the Reason of Actions unless as before. (4.) That the Facts and Monuments for *Athanasius* are generally utterly unsupported by any distinct collateral Evidence. And that the Reader may be sensible that these four Observations are not groundless, I shall give him the Words of the *Benedictines*, the great Followers and Admirers of *Athanasius*, upon those most eminent Facts and Monuments which he alledges in his famous Apology again the *Arians*. (c) " Out of this Apology therefore, say they, " the true History of the Church as to the fourth Century from " A. D. 300. to 350. is to be drawn, as out of its most pure Fountain: Since *Athanasius* does far excell all the other Writers of " this History; both because he was commonly an Eye Witness,

(a) *Ap. Du Pin. de Concil. Nicæn.* (b) *De Vit. Constantin.* l. III. c. 8. (c) *Op. p. 122.*

" because he relates what happen'd most accurately, and because
 " he frequently produces the Monuments themselves appeal'd to,
 " which are the surest Attestations possible. On the contrary
 " the other Authors, we mean *Socrates*, *Sozomen*, and *Theodoret*,
 " are not to be used without the utmost Caution; unless in such
 " Cases where they also do produce Monuments to attest their
 " Facts; which is but seldom. For they not only tell us Facts
 " sometimes which are themselves uncertain, but tell us true Facts
 " confusedly; and disorder the Times to which they belong.
 [Then they give a noted Instance in *Socrates*, and go on thus:]
 " In this History, as told by *Socrates*, for certain there is hardly
 " any thing that is quite right. — And presently after, Hence
 " you may observe how cautiously this Writer is to be made use
 " of. Nor is this the sole Case of *Socrates*, but of *Theodoret* also;
 " and much more plainly is it the Case of *Rufinus*, and *Sozomen*;
 " all which do give us most frequent Relations of Facts either o-
 " therwise than they happen'd, or in a quite different Order. (5.)
 That that degree of Partiality, Knavery, Forgery, Violence, Sub-
 ornation, and overbearing Wickedness, which the Historians are
 forc'd to charge on *Athanasius's* Adversaries in his Vindication, is
 beyond the usual Measures of Credibility and Management in the
 like Cases among Mankind; and such indeed as deserves much bet-
 ter Authority to support it than we have in the present Case.
 (6.) Persons are made so often to contradict themselves, and act in-
 consistently with their known Opinions, that one cannot tell how
 to believe the Facts, as told us by *Athanasius*. Thus *Ursacius* and
Valens sometimes are the vehement Accusers and Prosecutors of *A-*
thanasius; sometimes they voluntarily and openly own their false
 Accusations and Knaveries; and yet at last they avouch them to be
 true again, and say their former Repentance was extorted by Fear.
 Thus the Council of *Ariminum* sometimes are orthodox, and assure
 the Emperor they will ever continue so: Yet in a little time are
 they own'd every one to have sign'd an *Arian* Creed notwithstanding,
 out of fear of the Emperor: As if the greatest Synod
 that then had ever been in the Church, of no fewer than four hun-
 dred Bishops in a Body, durst not do otherwise than follow the
 Emperor's Orders; even when they were injoin'd to confirm, what
 they directly resolv'd to oppose, I mean the *Arian* Heresy. (7.)
 The Accounts and Vouchers produc'd in *Athanasius's* Vindication
 appear commonly so late, I mean not till many Years after the times
 to which they belong, and not till the Persons concern'd were
 dead, that there is small Reason to depend upon them. (8.) His
 as well as his Friend *Marcellus's* Condemnation was in the
 East, near the Places where the Facts happen'd; and his as well as
Marcellus's Absolution in the West, vastly remote from those Places:
 Which Circumstance cannot but afford great Suspicion as to the
 Justness of those Excuses and Allegations on which they were ac-
 quitted.

quitted. (9.) He as well as *Marcellus* would not submit to their proper Judges, the Eastern Synods, who had the Canonical Authority over them; but ran away from them, in order to be admitted to clear themselves among those in the West, that had no regular Power to judge about them at all: Which Circumstance is another great Prejudice as to their Innocence, and indeed shews them to have been both plainly very turbulent and factious Persons. Which as to *Athanasius* will farther appear, because (10.) His Writings are commonly directed to the Bishops his Followers, especially those under his own Jurisdiction, or to the ignorant, melancholy, and superstitious Monks, that spread from his great Friend *Anthony* in the Deserts of *Ægypt*, who were easily prevail'd on by his Stories, Arguments, and Pretences; while he very seldom concern'd himself with the truly Learned and Eminent among the *Arians*, who had most Reason and Opportunity to examine into the Truth or Falschhood of what he said. Nor do we find that he made any Figure at all, till the Death of both *Eusebius's*, who were the most capable of judging about them: All which Circumstances render no small Part of his Stories very doubtful, and of suspected Authority. (11.) And after all, the only true Reason why the History of *Athanasius* appears so free from Blots and Absurdities, so plausible, and pitiable in the ordinary Accounts, is, because we have it from hardly any but his Followers; and principally because his own Accounts, Apologies, Excuses, and pretended Monuments are generally preferr'd before those of all other Historians whatsoever. I appeal to any impartial Man whether any Criminal in the World may not have his Character supported by the like Means; especially any one of *Athanasius's* Parts and Opportunities; tho' he deserv'd it never so little. Nor do I believe the *Athanasians* would allow the Author of any other Sect or Heresy the same Advantages, but would think the Expectation of it the most unfair and unreasonable thing in the World.

Athanasius's Unchristian Language in the Arian Controversy.

(a) **T**HIS will convict our modern *Jews*.—How then dare these impious Persons trifle?—Away with the Madness of these Fools, that are odious to God!—They are blasphemous against God.—He that blasphemes any of these *Hypostases* shall not have Forgiveness neither in this World, neither in that which

(a) *In illud omnia mihi Trad.* § 5, 6. p. 107, 108.

is to come. The *Ariomanites*, or mad *Arians*. [This is the common Name for the *Eusebians* in *Athanasius*.]

The Heresy which makes War against Christ. This is a common Name in *Athanasius* for the *Arian* or *Eusebian* Doctrine.

(a) I have sometimes stood in Admiration at these Mens Impudence, that while their *Arian* Reasonings have been shewn to be trifling and vain; and while they are condemned by all, for all sorts of Folly, they murmur like the *Jews*, and say, Why did the *Nicaean* Fathers make use of unscriptural Expressions, such as *deriv'd from the Substance*, and *Consubstantial*?—They are like *Chameleons*—They imitate the Malignity of the *Jews*.—(b) The *Arians* that thus Judaize seem to me to act like *Caiaphas* and the *Pharisees*. For when they perceive that their Heresy has nothing of Probability to support it, they invent Excuses.—For by denying the Word [or Reason] of God, they are justly depriv'd of all Reason.—(c) As they were contentious in their Wickedness, and attempted to fight against God: For what they said was full of Impiety.—(d) How then can it otherwise be but that these Men must be guilty of Impiety, while they once think of contradicting so great and general a Council? &c.—(e) But because they are a very impudent sort of Men, and think probably that they can better patronize this diabolical Impiety.—(f) But seeing they are wild in their Impieties, and blinded as to the Truth.—Our Discourse both before and now has demonstrated that the poor creeping Language of these Men that fight against Christ is full of all sorts of Impiety.—(g) Learn this then, O you *Arians*, who fight against Christ!—(h) O you modern *Jews*, and Scholars of *Caiaphas*! What Fathers can you shew that made use of your Language? You can't name any one among the wise and prudent: For they all are against you excepting the Devil only. For he alone has persuaded you to this your Apostacy.—(i) Who does not see the Craftiness of these Men that fight against God? Who would not even throw Stones at them, when they talk so madly?

(k) You have been too tardy in giving me an Account of the Disputation which you have had with the Enemies of Christ.—As for these mad *Arians*, I am now sensible of their absurd Reasoning. For while their Heresy has not one Text that is agreeable or demonstrative out of the divine Scriptures, they get the impudent Knack of starting Excuses and plausible Sophisms only. Nay, they now have been so hardy as to calumniate the Fathers. Which is indeed not very strange for them to do; or rather 'tis a thing

(a) *De Decret. Syn. Nicæn.* § 1. p. 208. (b) § 2. p. 209. (c) § 3. p. 210. (d) § 4. p. 211. (e) § 5. p. 212. (f) § 18. p. 223, 224. (g) § 25. p. 230. (h) § 27. p. 233. (i) 28. p. 234. (k) *De Sentent. Dionys.* § 1. p. 243.

agreeable to their Malignity. For what wonder is it if those that have gone into Contrivances against the Lord and against his Christ, calumniate the blessed *Dionysius*, by pretending that he is of their Notions and Opinions?

(a) Probably they will never leave off this crafty Knavery of theirs. For in this way they imitate *Caiaphas* and his Followers; as they have also learn'd from them to deny Christ.——But indeed both those Old and these New *Jews* do inherit the same Madness of their Father the Devil, in fighting against Christ.

(b) And so much might have suffic'd to the intire Condemnation of these new *Jews*, who deny the Lord, and calumniate the Fathers, and endeavour to deceive all Christians.——That they may at last, tho' late, leave off blaspheming the Lord.——(c) As to which Matter one cannot but wonder at the Impudence of these wicked Wretches: While *Dionysius*, who, as these Men pretend, was of their Opinion, said the Son is *Consubstantial* to the Father, they go about humming like Gnats, and saying, the Synod has not done well in saying he is *Consubstantial*.——(d) These things either *Arius* never heard of; or else he was so unlearned that he did not understand them. For had he understood them, he would not have told such great Lyes of this Bishop; but would rather have abused him, as he does us, out of his Hatred of the Truth. For since he was an Enemy to Christ, he would make no scruple of persecuting those that are the Followers of Christ.——(e) But no body will give any Credit to them hereafter, altho' they should be forc'd to accuse Men falsely. For this Heresy is condemned by all Men. Unless they will hereafter alledge the Devil's Authority. For he alone it is that is of their Opinion. Or rather he it is that puts this Heresy into their Minds. Who is there then that will any longer call these Men, who have the Devil for their Guide, *Christians*? and not rather *Diabolical*? That their Name may be not only, *The Enemies of Christ*; but also *Devilish Persons*.

(f) This last Heresy which is now arisen, as a Forerunner of Antichrist, is called *The Arian Heresy*. It is indeed a deceitful and subtle Heresy; for upon the Observation that the other Heresies, its elder Sisters, have been openly triumphed over, this pretends to cloath it self with Scripture Language, as did its Father the Devil; and is very earnest also to return into the Paradise of the Church.——I have thought it necessary at your Desire to dissect the Entrails of this filthy Heresy, and to shew the ill Savour of its Madness.——(g) Those that call these *Arians* Christians are wonderfully mistaken.——(h) This is in effect to call *Caiaphas* a Christian; and to reckon *Judas* still among the Apostles; and to con-

(a) § 3. p. 245. (b) § 4. p. 245. (c) 19. p. 256. (d) § 24. p. 259. (e) § 27. p. 262. (f) *Orat. I. contra Arian.* § 1. p. 405. (g) p. 406. (h) § 2. p. 406. rend

tend that they did no harm who desired *Barabbas* instead of our Saviour; to commend *Hymeneus* and *Alexander* as orthodox; and to suppose that the Apostle told Lyes against them. [Soon after this *Athanasius* talks of a Book of *Arim's* which was call'd *Tbalia*, and written in a very foolish and ludicrous Manner: The whole of which Story and Citations seems to depend on his sole Authority.]—(a) At these Blasphemies of *Arim* surely all Mankind must be struck dumb, and stop their Ears, and shut their Eyes, that they may not so much as hear them; nor so much as see him that wrote them.—(b) What you have vomited out.—(c) You accursed and wicked Persons.—(d) You that fight against God.—(e) But this is not the Doctrine of the Church, but of *Paul of Samosata*, and of these our present *Jews*. Why then are not they as *Jews* in Opinion, circumcised like them?—(f) But if they embrace the Way of *Caiaphas*, and are determined to act like *Jews*.—(g) The same thing has happen'd to these Enemies of Christ; and thence have they fallen into this filthy Heresy. (h) The *Arians* like Swine and Dogs roll themselves in their own Vomit, and their own Mire.—(i) They every where carry about them those small Words, *He once was not*, like Dirt in a Purse; and they vomit out that saying, as a Serpent does its Poison.—Are not those that are deluded by them to be pitied? and is it not just to weep on their Account? that out of the regard to present Pleasure, they are betray'd as to their real Advantage, and are depriv'd of that Hope which is to come? For while they hope to receive Baptism into the Name of one that had no Being, they will receive nothing: And by reckoning the Son among the Creatures, they will receive no Assistance from the Creature: And by believing in one that is, as to his Essence, unlike to and remote from the Father, they will not be joined to the Father, as not having his own Son, that is so by Nature, who is in the Father, and in whom is the Father, as himself said. But being seduc'd by them, they continue destitute and deprived of the Divinity. For neither will the fantastical Enjoyments of this World follow them after they are dead: Nor when they see that Lord whom they have denied sitting upon the Throne of his Father, and judging the quick and the dead, will any of them be able to call for the Assistance of those that seduc'd them.

(k) When the *Arians* are confuted they don't leave off arguing; nor when they are at a loss are they ashamed; but with a Whore's Forehead they grow impudent in their Impieties towards all Men.—

(l) Miserable Men are they; and the more so, in as much as they

(a) § 7. p. 410, 411. (b) § 10. p. 414. (c) § 11. p. 415. (d) § 13. p. 418. (e) § 38. p. 442. (f) § 53. p. 457. (g) § 55. p. 459. (h) *Orat.* II. § 1. p. 468. (i) § 43. p. 511. (k) *Orat.* III. § 1. p. 550. (l) § 16. p. 566.

suffer Detriment on account of their Opinions, so contrary to Christ. For they have deserted the Truth, and in the Denial of Christ do exceed the Treachery of the *Jews*: Nay, these Men that are odious to God wallow in the same Mire with the Heathen; as serving a Creature and several sorts of Gods.— (a) Now I see nothing else in all this their Malignity, but an absurd Boldness, and diabolical Madness.— (b) Such are the Arguments which these impious Persons madly produce.— Why don't they imitate the *Jews*, and cry out with *Caiaphas*? &c.— If then any one will but compare the Language of the *Jews* and *Arians*, he will find they intirely center in the same Infidelity; that they include equal Attempts of Impiety; and that the Contest of both against us is equal also, &c.— (c) Since therefore this Heresy is Judaical, and this Madness deriv'd from *Judas* that betrayd Christ; either let the *Arians* own themselves the Disciples of *Caiaphas* and *Herod*, and not conceal their *Judaism* under the Name of Christianity; and so let them intirely deny, as we have said above, the coming of Christ in the Flesh; for that is their Notion at the bottom; or if they are afraid to act as *Jews* openly, and to be circumcised, &c.— (d) Wherefore leave off, O you *Arians*, odious to God.— (e) O you Enemies of Christ, and ungrateful *Jews*!— What Difference then is there at last between these *Arians* and the *Jews*? For as the *Jews* ascribed the Operations of God to *Beelzebub*, and were thereby guilty of blaspheming; so will the *Arians*, by reckoning the Lord who performed those Operations among the Creatures, be oblig'd to undergo the same Condemnation, without any Remission.— (f) But certainly an Heretick is a very wicked thing; and has on all Accounts a Mind corrupted for Impiety. For lo! when they are confuted in every Point, and it is evident they are destitute of all kind of Understanding, they are not ashamed: But like that wild Beast call'd *Hydra*, of which the *Greek* Fables speak so much, who when her first Snakes are slain, brings forth still other Snakes, and so vies with their Murderer by her new Productions: After the same Manner do these *Arians*, that are Enemies and odious to God, as a sort of *Hydra*, still invent to themselves Judaical and foolish Questions: And as those that set themselves in Opposition to Truth, they contrive new Arguments, that they may still more and more discover themselves to be the Enemies of Christ, even after the plainest Confutations of what they object; (g) such as are sufficient to make their Father the Devil blush and run away, &c. [But enough, and too much upon this Head.]

(a) § 17. p. 567. (b) § 27. p. 577. (c) § 28. p. 578. (d) § 41. p. 590. (e) § 55. p. 603, 604. (f) § 58. p. 607. (g) § 59. p. 607.

*Athanasius's Doxologies; according to the Times
when he used them.*

(a) **T**HAT love God and the Father, in Christ Jesus our Lord : By whom, and with whom be Honour, and Power, and Glory to the Father himself, with the Son himself, in the Holy Spirit, for ever and ever. *Amen.*

(b) By whom, Glory, Power, and Majesty be to the Father, before all Ages, and for ever and ever. *Amen.*

(c) His [the Son's] is the Kingdom : The Father's, the Son's, and the Holy Spirit's, now, and for ever. *Amen.*

(d) 'Tis fit to give Glory, Honour, and Adoration to God and the Father, with his Coeternal Son and Word, together with the most Holy and Quickening Spirit, both now, and for endless Ages of Ages. *Amen.*

— (e) In Christ Jesus our Lord : With whom Glory and Power be to the Father, together with the Holy Spirit, for ever. *Amen.*

— (f) In Christ Jesus our Lord : By whom Glory and Power be to the Father, in the Holy Spirit, for ever and ever. *Amen.*

— (g) Our Lord Jesus Christ : By whom Glory and Power be to thee the Father, even with the Word himself, in the Holy Spirit, for ever and ever. *Amen.*

(b) To him [the Son] be Honour and Adoration, who was formerly, and is now, and will be always, and for ever. *Amen.*

(i) [For when the Spirit was in the People God was in them, by his Son, in the Spirit.]

For the Father himself operates and bestows all things by the Word, in the Holy Spirit.]

(k) For as the Trinity always was, so is it now; and as it now is, so was it ever, and is still; and therein the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. And there is one God the Father, who is over all, and through all, and in all; who is blessed for ever. *Amen.*

(a) About A. D. 313. *De Incarnat. verb.* § ult. *Op.* p. 97. (b) Time uncertain, *Expos. Fid.* § ult. *Op.* p. 102. (c) Before A. D. 343. in *Omn. mihi Trad.* § ult. *Op.* p. 108. (d) About A. D. 352. *De Decret. Synod. Nican.* § ult. *Op.* 238. (e) Before A. D. 356. *Epist. ad Amun. in calce Op.* p. 961. (f) About A. D. 357. *Apolog. de Fig.* § ult. *Op.* p. 336. (g) About A. D. 357. *Hist. Arian. ad Monach.* § 80. *Op.* p. 393. (h) About A. D. 358. *Orat. IV. contra Arian.* § ult. *Op.* p. 645. (i) About A. D. 360. *Epist. I. ad Serap.* § 12. *Op.* p. 661. *Epist. III.* § 1. *Op.* p. 694. (k) § ult. p. 696.

—(a) In Jesus Christ our Lord : By whom, and with whom Glory and Power be to the Father, with the Holy Spirit, unto all Ages of Ages. *Amen.*

—(b) In Christ Jesus our Lord : By whom, and with whom Glory and Power be to the Father, together with the Holy Spirit, for ever and ever. *Amen.*

(c) One Lord ; one Faith ; one Baptism, in Christ Jesus our Lord : By whom Glory and Power be to the Father, for ever and ever. *Amen.*

—(d) Jesus Christ : By whom Glory and Power be to the Father, in the Holy Spirit, both now, and for all future Ages of Ages. *Amen.*

—(e) In Christ Jesus our Lord : To whom be Glory for ever and ever. *Amen.* [This Doxology is wanting in *Evagrius's* Original Latin Version : However, see the like afterwards, *Epist. ad Afr.* § ult. Op. p. 900]

Note here (r) That *Athanasius's* only Doxology before the Council of Nice, and not a few afterward also, were the same that has so long been called *Arian* ; I mean that of *in*, and not *to*, or *with* the Holy Spirit : And that *Athanasius* sometimes afterward used the one way of speaking as well as the other : Just as *Basil* did also ; and as the present Copies of the Liturgy in the Eighth Book of the Constitutions do still exhibit it to us : While it appears by other Evidence, and by *Basil's* own Accounts, that no other than that esteem'd the *Arian* Form of *in the Holy Spirit*, can lay sure Claim to any publick Original, or sacred Authority in the Church.

Note (2.) That *Basil* has a full and remarkable (f) Discourse upon this Subject ; a short Summary of which only, because of its length, I shall here give the Reader ; as highly worthy of his serious Consideration upon this Occasion.

Basil then was accus'd by those that dislik'd the late Notions and Practices brought into the Church, that he had ventur'd to alter the old Christian Doxology, as to the Particle *in*, which used to be given to the Holy Ghost ; and that he often made use of *and*, or *with* instead of it ; as if Glory, and Honour, and Adoration, were to be not only ascribed to the Father, and to the Son, *in* the Holy Ghost, or by his Assistance, but also directly *to* the Holy Ghost himself, as to a proper Object of Christian Adoration or Doxology. In answer to which he owes that the Form *in* the Holy Ghost is indeed certainly the ancient and undoubted Christian Form of Doxology ; and that he will sometimes make use of it still accordingly ; that however the other Forms *and* or *with*, if they be not really genuine

(a) *Ep. IV. § 7. Op. p. 701.* (b) § ult. p. 714. (c) *About A. D. 361. De Synod. § 54. Op. p. 767.* (d) *A. D. 361. ad Episcop. Ægypt. § ult. p. 294.* (e) *About A. D. 365. Vit. Anton. § ult. Op. p. 866.* (f) *De Spiritu Sancto ad Amphilochoium.* and

and original in Doxologies, which yet he would willingly insinuate, they have however been used upon other Occasions indifferently; that even in Doxologies he is not the first that has used those Particles, concerning the Holy Ghost; but that several great Men had done the like before him; at least since the beginning of the third Century, as he proves by particular Instances; and that he therefore looks upon it as a piece of *Arian* or Heretical Inclination to be so scrupulous of keeping to this one old Particle *in*, out of Opposition to those that would shew their Orthodoxy by the use of the other Particles, *and* or *with* the Holy Ghost. This is the Purport of *Basil's* Reasoning in this Case. And I own that if Prudentials must govern, and Christians are at Liberty to make themselves a new Object of direct Invocation or Doxology from remote Inferences of their own, and out of Compliance with a prevailing Party, *Basil* may be in the right, as well as those that follow him in these Matters. But if Divine Worship is only to be given in such a Manner, and to such Objects, as Divine Institution ordains, he and all the *Athanasians* run a great Hazard in such Matters, and must have a heavy Account to give of this their rash and unjustifiable, and unchristian Procedure at the great Day.

The Eusebian Creeds of the fourth Century, preserv'd by Athanasius in his Book of Synods, and omitted in my former Collection.

(I.) *The first Creed of the Council of Antioch, A. D. 341.*

Note, that this is the Council whose Canons the learned *Du Pin* says, contain the wisest and the justest Rules that ever were observed in the ancient Church.

“ **W**E are neither Followers of *Arius*, (for how should we
 “ that are Bishops, follow him that is only a Presbyter?)
 “ Nor have we embrac’d any other Faith than that which from
 “ the beginning has been delivered to us. But we have our selves
 “ been the Enquirers into and Examiners of his Faith, and so
 “ have rather admitted than followed him; as you will perceive by
 “ what we now say. For we have learn’d from the Beginning to
 “ believe in One God, the God of the Universe, the Creator of all
 “ things intelligible and sensible, and the Provider for them: And
 “ in One Only-begotten Son of God, who existed before all Ages,
 “ and was with the Father who begat him; by whom all things
 “ were made both visible and invisible; who in the last Days, accor-
 “ ding

“ding to the good Pleasure of the Father, descended, and took
 “Flesh of the Virgin; and when he had fulfilled all his Father’s
 “Will he suffered, and rose again, and ascended into Heaven,
 “and sitteth on the Right Hand of the Father, and will come a-
 “gain to judge the quick and the dead, and continues King and
 “God for ever. We also believe in the Holy Spirit: And if it be
 “necessary for us to add this, we do also believe the Resurrection
 “of the Flesh, and the Life everlasting.

(II.) The second Creed of the Council of *Antioch* the same Year, See in my Appendix to Vol. IV. p. 44, 45, 46.

(III.) *The third or shortest Creed of the Council of Antioch, the same Year.*

“G O D whom I call for a Witness upon my Soul, knows that I
 “Believe thus In God the Father Almighty, the Creator
 “and Maker of all things, from whom are all things: And in his
 “Only-begotten Son, God the Word, Power, and Wisdom, our
 “Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things; who was begotten
 “of the Father before the Ages; perfect God of perfect God, who
 “is substantially present with God, who in the last Days descen-
 “ded, and was born of the Virgin according to the Scriptures,
 “and became Man, who suffered, and rose again from the dead,
 “and ascended again into Heaven, and sitteth on the Right Hand
 “of the Father, and shall come again with Glory and Power to
 “judge the quick and the dead, and continues for ever. And [I
 “believe] in the Holy Spirit the Comforter, the Spirit of Truth,
 “which God by his Prophet promised to pour out upon his Ser-
 “vants, and the Lord promised to send to his Disciples, which he
 “also sent, as the Acts of the Apostles witness. But if any one
 “teaches or believes otherwise than according to this Faith, let him
 “be anathema. And if any one is of the Opinion of *Marcellus* of
 “*Ancyra*, or of *Sabellius*, or of *Paul of Samosata*, let him be Ana-
 “thema, and all that communicate with him.

(IV.) *The fourth Creed of the Council of Antioch, A. D. 342. sent to Constantine the Western Emperor.*

“W E believe in One God, the Father, Almighty, the Crea-
 “tor and Maker of all things; of whom the whole Fami-
 “ly in Heaven and on Earth is named. And in his Only-begotten
 “Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, who was begotten of the Father be-
 “fore all Ages; God of God, Light of Light; by whom all things
 “were made that are in Heaven and on Earth, visible and invisi-
 “ble;

" ble; who is the Word, and Wisdom, and Power, and Life, and
 " the true Light; who in the last Days was made Man for us, and
 " was born of the Holy Virgin; who was crucified, and died, and
 " was buried, and rose again from the dead the third Day, and
 " was received up into Heaven, and sitteth on the Right Hand of
 " the Father, and shall come again at the end of the World to
 " judge the quick and the dead; and to render to every one ac-
 " cording to his Works, whose Kingdom is indissoluble and con-
 " tinues unto endless Ages. For he shall sit on the right Hand of
 " the Father, not only in this World, but also in that which is to
 " come. And [we believe] in the Holy Spirit, that is the Com-
 " forter, which he promised to his Apostles, and sent after his
 " Assumption again into Heaven, to teach them, and to bring all
 " things to their Remembrance; by whom also the Souls of all
 " those that sincerely believe in him shall be sanctified. But for those
 " that affirm the Son was made out of nothing, or of another Sub-
 " stance, and not of God, and that there was a Time when he
 " was not, the Catholick Church owns them as alien from her.

(V.) *The fifth or largest Creed of the Council at Antioch;
 A. D. 344. or 345. and sent to Italy.*

" **W**E believe in one God the Father Almighty, the Creator
 " and Maker of all things, of whom the whole Family in
 " Heaven and on Earth is named. And in his Only-begotten Son,
 " our Lord Jesus Christ, who was begotten of the Father before all
 " Ages, God of God, Light of Light; by whom all things were
 " made, which are in Heaven, and on Earth, visible, and invis-
 " ble; who is the Word, and Wisdom, and Power, and Life, and
 " the true Light; who in the last Days was made Man for us, and
 " was born of the Holy Virgin, was crucified, and died, and was
 " buried, and rose again from the dead the third Day; and was
 " received again into Heaven, and sitteth on the Right Hand of
 " the Father, and will come again at the end of the World to
 " judge the quick and the dead, and to render to every one ac-
 " cording to their Works; whose Kingdom will never cease, but
 " continue for endless Ages. For he is to sit at the Right Hand of
 " the Father, not only in this World, but also in that which is to
 " come. We also believe in the Holy Spirit, that is the Comfor-
 " ter, which he promised to his Apostles after his Return into Hea-
 " ven, and sent, to teach them, and to bring all things to their
 " Remembrance; by whom the Souls of those that sincerely be-
 " lieve in him will be sanctified.

" But as for those that affirm the Son was made out of nothing,
 " or was deriv'd from another Substance, and not from God, or
 " that there ever was any Time or Age when he was not, the Ca-
 " tholick

“ tholick and Holy Church owns them as alien from her. As also
 “ the Holy and Catholick Church Anathematizes those that affirm
 “ there are three Gods; or that Christ is not God; or that before
 “ the Ages he was not either Christ or God; or that the Father,
 “ and Son, and Holy Spirit are one Person; or that the Son is
 “ Unbegotten; or that the Father begat the Son, but not volun-
 “ tarily and freely. [So far of this Creed the Easterns of the
 Council of *Sardica* confirm’d, as *Hilary* and the Council of *Ancyra*
 assure us, and as it was also confirm’d by the Council of *Ancyra* it
 self in *Epiphanius* (a).]

“ For it is not safe to affirm that the Son was made out of
 “ nothing, since there is no Text of the divinely inspired Scrip-
 “ tures produc’d for that Expression: Nor are we taught that
 “ he was begotten of any other pre-existing Substance, but pecu-
 “ liarly of God alone; for the divine Word teaches us that there
 “ is but one Unbegotten Being, without any Origin. And the like
 “ for those that venture to use that unscriptural Expression, *There*
 “ *was a Duration when he was not*; and that we are to suppose
 “ some Interval of Time before him, besides God, who alone begat
 “ him, before all time: For Time and the Ages were made by
 “ him. Yet are we not to imagine the Son is equally with him
 “ without any Origin, and equally with him Unbegotten: For of
 “ two Beings which are together without any Origin, and together
 “ Unbegotten, neither of them can be properly called Father, or
 “ Son. But we own that while the Father is alone without any
 “ Origin, and Unbegotten, he begat the Son after an ineffable and
 “ incomprehensible Manner; and that the Son was begotten be-
 “ fore the Ages; and that he was by no Means Unbegotten, as the
 “ Father was; but had the Father that begat him for his Origin.
 “ For the Head of Christ is God.

“ Yet do we not by thus confessing the Reality of the Beings or
 “ Persons of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost,
 “ according to the Scriptures, make thereby three Gods: For we
 “ own him alone as God, perfect of himself, and Unbegotten,
 “ and without beginning, and invisible, who is the one God and
 “ Father of the Only-begotten, who alone has his Existence of him-
 “ self, and who alone does freely give it to all other Beings. Nor
 “ indeed, when we affirm that there is only One God, the Father
 “ of our Lord Jesus Christ, who alone is Unbegotten, do we there-
 “ fore deny that Christ was God before the Ages; as do the Fol-
 “ lowers of *Paul* of *Samosata*; who affirm that he was in later
 “ Times, after his Incarnation, by Advancement made a God;
 “ while as to his Nature he was no more than a meer Man. For
 “ we own that altho’ he be subordinate to his Father, and to God,

“ yet that, as he was begotten of God before the Ages, he was a
 “ perfect and true God by Nature; and not a God made afterward
 “ of a Man; but that being a God he became Man for us, and ne-
 “ ver lost his Existence.

“ We do moreover abominate and anathematize those that call
 “ him without Authority the only and meer Word of God,
 “ without a distinct Subsistence, but as having his Being in ano-
 “ ther; sometimes as called so of some by Prolation, and some-
 “ times by internal Abode, and that will not have him to be
 “ Christ, and the Son of God, and the Mediator, and the Image
 “ of God before the Ages; but that he became Christ, and the
 “ Son of God, from that time only when he took our Flesh of a
 “ Virgin, not quite 400 Years ago. For they will have it that
 “ from that time only his Kingdom began, and that it will end af-
 “ ter the Consummation, and the Judgment.

“ Such are those that follow *Marcellus* and *Photinus*, who both
 “ were of *Ancyra* in *Galatia*; who, like the *Jews*, take away the
 “ Existence of Christ before the Ages, as also his Divinity, and
 “ the Eternity of his Kingdom, under the Pretence of their Desire
 “ to establish the Unity of God. For we own him as not merely a
 “ Word, sent out, or remaining in God, but the living God the
 “ Word, who exists distinctly, the Son of God, and the Christ;
 “ and not merely present, and conversing with his Father before
 “ the Ages by Prescience, but as ministering to him in all his Work
 “ of Creation, whether as to the visible or invisible World. For
 “ this is he to whom the Father said, *Let us make Man after our*
 “ *Image, and after our Likeness*; who appeared Face to Face to the
 “ Patriarchs; who gave the Law, and spake by the Prophets, and
 “ was at last made Man, and made his Father manifest to all Men, and
 “ is to reign to endless Ages. For Christ did not receive any new
 “ Dignity; but we believe that he was perfect from the beginning,
 “ and in all things like to his Father. And as for those that affirm
 “ the Father, and Son, and Holy Spirit to be one Person; and im-
 “ piously take these three Names as signifying one and the same
 “ Thing or Person, we do justly declare them to be out of the
 “ Church, because they suppose the incomprehensible and passible
 “ Father to be at the same time comprehensible and passible by
 “ the Incarnation. For such are the *Patripassians*, as they are cal-
 “ led by the *Romans*; and the *Sabellians*, as they are called by us.
 “ For we own that the Father who sent Christ remained in the
 “ proper State of his unalterable Divinity; but that Christ who was
 “ sent, fulfilled the Dispensation of that Incarnation.

“ We do also declare those Men most impious and estranged
 “ from the Church, who without regard to Piety affirm that the
 “ Son was begotten not by the Will and good Pleasure [of his Fa-
 “ ther] but that impose an involuntary and indeliberate Necessity
 “ upon God, and make him involuntarily to beget his Son; be-
 “ cause,

“ cause, against the common Notions we have of God, and against
“ the Intention of the divinely inspired Scripture, they venture to
“ determine so rashly about him. For we know that God has the
“ Power over himself, and is his own Master, and we have accor-
“ dingly piously received this Doctrine; that he voluntarily and
“ freely begat his Son. And tho’ we with great Reverence believe
“ him, when he says thus of himself, *The Lord created me, the*
“ *beginning of his Way, for his Works*, yet do we not apprehend
“ that he was made in the same Manner with those Creatures, or
“ made Beings which were produced by his Ministration: For
“ ’tis impious and alien from the Ecclesiastical Faith to compare the
“ Creator to those Creatures which were created by him; and to
“ suppose that himself had the same Manner of Original with
“ them; for the divine Scriptures do teach us that the Only-begot-
“ ten Son was alone begotten [or made] in a peculiar and real Man-
“ ner. Nor, when we affirm that the Son is a distinct Being, and
“ lives and exists as well as his Father, do we therefore sepa-
“ rate him from the Father, or imagine any Places or Intervals of
“ Space between their Conjunction, after the Manner of Bodies.
“ For we believe that they are conjoined to each other without
“ any thing interpos’d to part them; and that they are inseparably
“ one with another: While the intire Father embraces the Son,
“ and the intire Son depends upon and adheres to the Father, and
“ does alone rest in his Father’s Bosom continually. While we
“ therefore believe in the most perfect and most Holy Trinity;
“ that is, in the Father, in the Son, and in the Holy Spirit; and
“ while we affirm the Father is God, and the Son is God, and yet
“ not these as two Gods, We acknowledge one Supremacy of the
“ Deity, and one compleat Agreement of the Kingdom; the Fa-
“ ther alone ruling over all things in general, and over the Son
“ himself; and the Son being subject to the Father but, him accep-
“ ted, and after him reigning over all those things which were
“ made by his Ministration; and bestowing the Grace of the Holy
“ Spirit freely to the Saints, according to his Father’s Will. For
“ the sacred Word has delivered down to us that the Unity of God
“ by Christ is thus established.

“ We have been forced to prosecute these Matters more largely,
“ after the foregoing brief Exposition of our Faith, not out of a
“ vain Ambition, but that we may clear our selves of all Manner
“ of Suspicions, as to our Faith, among those that are unacquain-
“ ted with our Conduct; and that all the Western Churches may
“ be informed, at once of the Impudence of the Calumnies of the
“ Heterodox, and also that the Notions of the Eastern Churches
“ are agreeable to the Ecclesiastical Tradition in the Lord, and
“ that as the same is plainly attested to among the sincere by the
“ divinely inspired Scriptures also.

(VI.) *The Creed of the Council of Sirmium, A. D. 351. own'd and explain'd for orthodox by Hilary.*

“ **W**E believe in one God, the Father, Almighty, the Creator and Maker of all things ; of whom the whole Family in Heaven and upon Earth is named. And in his Only begotten Son, our Lord Jesus Christ ; who was begotten of the Father before all Ages ; God of God ; Light of Light ; by whom all things were made, both things in Heaven, and things on Earth, visible and invisible ; who is the Word, and Wisdom, and true Light, and Life ; who in the last Days was made Man for us, and was born of the Holy Virgin, and was crucified, and died, and was buried, and rose again from the dead the third Day, and was received up again into Heaven, and sitteth on the Right Hand of the Father, and shall come again at the end of the World to judge the quick and the dead, and to render to every one according to his Works ; whose Kingdom shall never cease, but continue for endless Ages : For he shall sit on the Right Hand of the Father, not only in this World, but also in that which is to come. And [we believe] in the Holy Spirit, that is the Comforter, which he promised to send to his Apostles, after his Return into Heaven, to teach them, and to bring all things to their Remembrance, and sent accordingly ; by whom also the Souls of those that sincerely believe in him are sanctified.

1. But for those that say, the Son was made out of nothing ; or was of another Substance, and not of God ; and that there was any Time or Age when he was not, the Holy and Catholick Church owns them as alien from her.

2. We will therefore again say, If any one says that the Father and Son are two Gods, Let him be accursed.

3. And if any one who says Christ is God, as the Son of God before the Ages, does not withal confess that he ministred to his Father for the Creation of the Universe, Let him be accursed.

4. If any one says he is Unbegotten, or that Part of him was begotten of *Mary*, Let him be accursed.

5. If any one says the Son existed before *Mary* only in the divine Prescience, and was not with God as one begotten of the Father before the Ages, and he by whom all things were made, Let him be accursed.

6. If any one says the Substance of God was dilated, or contracted, Let him be accursed.

7. If any one says that the dilated Substance of God made the Son, or calls that Dilation of his Substance, The Son, Let him be accursed.

8. If

8. If any one says the internal or prolated Word is the Son of God, Let him be accursed.

9. If any one says that the Son who was born of *Mary* was a meer Man, Let him be accursed.

10. If any one, speaking of that God and Man which was born of *Mary*, means it of the Unbegotten God, Let him be accursed.

11. If any one interprets that Text, *I am the first God, and I am the last, and besides me there is no God*, Which was spoken in Opposition to Idols, and of such Gods as had no real Being Judaically, to take away the Divinity of the Only-begotten before the Ages, Let him be accursed.

12. If any one, when he hears that Text, *The Word was made Flesh*, supposes that the Word was changed into Flesh, or says that he took Flesh in Expectation of some such Conversion, Let him be accursed.

13. If any one when he hears that the Only-begotten Son of God was crucified, says, that his Divinity was liable to any Corruption, or Alteration, or Conversion, or Diminution, or Destruction, Let him be accursed.

14. If any one says that this Text, *Let us make Man*, is not meant of the Father speaking to the Son, but of God speaking to himself, Let him be accursed.

15. If any one says that *Abraham* did not see the Son, but the Unbegotten God, or a part of him, Let him be accursed.

16. If any one says that it was not the Son who wrestled with *Jacob* as a Man; but that it was the Unbegotten God, or a Part of him, Let him be accursed.

17. If any one expounds that Text, *The Lord rained Fire from the Lord*, not of the Father and the Son; but that he rained it from himself, Let him be accursed. For the Lord the Son rained from the Lord the Father.

18. If any one, when he hears of the Father as Lord, and of the Son as Lord, or *the Lord from the Lord*, says, there are two Gods, Let him be accursed. For we do not make the Son co-ordinate with the Father, but subject to the Father. For he did not descend to *Sodom* without the Will of the Father. Nor did he rain from himself, but from the Lord; that is by the Authority of the Father. Nor does he sit at God's Right Hand of himself, but in Compliance with his Father's Command, *Sit thou at my Right Hand*.

19. If any one says, the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit are one Person, Let him be accursed.

20. If any one by saying the Holy Spirit is the Comforter, says he is the Unbegotten God, Let him be accursed.

21. If any one does not say the Comforter is a Person different from the Son, as our Lord taught us, when he said, *And the Father will send you another Comforter which I will pray for*, Let him be accursed.

22. If any one says the Holy Spirit is a Part of the Father, or the Son, Let him be accursed.

23. If any one says the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit are three Gods, Let him be accursed.

24. If any one says the Son of God was made by the Will of God, as one of the Creatures, Let him be accursed.

25. If any one says that the Son was begotten [or made] without the good Pleasure of the Father, Let him be accursed. For the Father was not forced by a physical Necessity, without the Concurrence of his Will, to beget the Son; but as soon as he pleased, he begat him of himself, before Time, and without any Alteration.

26. If any one says the Son is Unbegotten, and without any Origin; and so affirms there are two Beings without any Origin and Unbegotten, and thereby makes two Gods, Let him be accursed. For *The Head, that is the Origin of Christ is God.* For so do we piously refer all unto one unoriginated Origin of the Universe, by the Son.

27. And again, that we may accurately expound the Meaning of these Points of Christianity, we say that if any one does not say that Christ is God, the Son of God, before all Ages, that ministred to his Father for the Creation of the Universe; but that he then began to be called Christ and the Son when he was born of *Mary*, and then began to be God, Let him be accursed.

(VII.) *The Creed of the Third Council of Sirmium: Or, A Transcript of the Blasphemy of Hosius, [as Hilary calls it.] A. D. 357.*

“ **W** Hereas there seemed to be some Debates about the Faith,
 “ all the Points were carefully argued and discuss’d at *Sirmium*,
 “ in the Presence of *Valens, Ursacius, Germinius*, and the
 “ rest; where it was agreed, That there is but one God, the Fa-
 “ ther, Almighty, as is universally believ’d in the World. And
 “ One Only-begotten Son of his, Jesus Christ, the Lord, our Savi-
 “ our, begotten of him before the Ages; but that Two Gods nei-
 “ ther can nor ought to be preached, because the Lord himself
 “ said, *I go to my Father, and your Father; to my God, and your God.*
 “ Therefore he is the God of all the World, as the Apostle has
 “ taught us, *Is he the God of the Jews only? is he not also of the*
 “ *Gentiles? Yes, of the Gentiles also. For it is One God that justifies*
 “ *the Circumcision by Faith, and the Uncircumcision thro’ Faith.* And
 “ accordingly they agreed in the other Points, and there was no
 “ room for Disagreement. But as for that Matter which disturbed
 “ not a few, about the Word *Substance*, whether Christ was of the
 “ *same*, or of a *like Substance* with the Father, it was resolv’d that
 “ no more mention should be made of them, nor any one should
 “ preach

“ preach about them in the Church ; for these plain Reasons that
 “ there is nothing written in the divine Scriptures about them ;
 “ and that these things are beyond humane Knowledge, and hu-
 “ mane Understanding ; and that no one can declare the Genera-
 “ tion of the Son, as it is written, *Who shall declare his Generation?*
 “ For ’tis evident that the Father alone knows how he begat the
 “ Son ; and the Son alone how he was begotten by the Father.
 “ However, there is no room for any one to question but the Fa-
 “ ther is the greater : For none can doubt that the Father is great-
 “ er as to Honour, and Dignity, and Majesty, [or Divinity,] and
 “ the very Name of Father, as he himself is Witness ; *The Fa-
 “ ther who sent me is greater than I.* Every one also knows that ’tis
 “ agreeable to the Catholick Faith that there are two Persons of
 “ the Father, and the Son ; that the Father is greater, and the
 “ Son subject to the Father, with all those Beings which the Fa-
 “ ther put under him. And that the Father had no Origin, and
 “ is invisible, and immortal, and impassible, while the Son was
 “ begotten of the Father, God of God, Light of Light, and that
 “ no one knows this Generation of the Son, but his Father ;
 “ while this Son of God, our Lord and God, took Flesh, or a Bo-
 “ dy, that is humane Nature, as it is written, in the Womb of
 “ the Virgin *Mary* ; as the Angel foretold ; and as all the Scriptures,
 “ especially our Apostle, or Doctor of the *Gentiles*, teaches us.
 “ But this is the Summary of our whole Faith ; and this the Confir-
 “ mation of all, that the Trinity be ever retain’d ; as we read in
 “ the Gospel ; *Go ye, baptize all Nations unto the Name of the Fa-
 “ ther, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.* This Number of the
 “ Trinity is plain and compleat. But as for the Comforter, the
 “ Holy Spirit, he exists by the Son, and was sent and came according
 “ to his Promise, to instruct, teach, and sanctifie the Apostles and
 “ all Believers.

N B. I omit here the very long Confession of the *Semiarrians* at the Council of *Ancyra*, which we have in (a) *Epiphanius*, as not so material.

(VIII.) *The Creed of the fifth Council of Sirmium, Maij 22.*

A. D. 359. exactly like that signed also by the Council of Nico in Thrace, and by that most numerous Council of Seleucia and Ariminum ; (for they were in effect one general Council met in two Places,) of near 600 Bishops.

THIS Catholick Creed was published in the Presence of the most pious and victorious Prince *Constantius Augustus* the eternal Emperor, when the most eminent *Flavius* and *Eusebius* were Consuls. Dated at *Sirmium* the 11th of the Kalends of June.

(a) *Hæres.* LXXIII. § 2, &c.

" We Believe in the One, Only, and True God, the Father,
 " Almighty, the Creator and Maker of all things. And in One
 " Only-begotten Son of God, who was without any Alteration be-
 " gotten before all Ages, and before all beginning of things,
 " and before all conceivable time, and before all comprehensible
 " Substance; by whom both the Ages were framed, and all things
 " were made; who was the begotten, and the Only-begotten alone
 " of the Father alone; God of God; who was like the Father that
 " begat him, according to the Scriptures; whose Generation no
 " one knows, but only the Father who begat him. Him do we
 " own the Only-begotten Son of God; who by the Command of
 " the Father came from Heaven to put away Sin, and was born of
 " the Virgin *Mary*, and conversed with his Disciples, and fulfilled
 " his intire Dispensation, according to his Father's Will, and was
 " crucified, and died, and descended into the lower Parts of the
 " Earth, and disposed of the Affairs there; whom when the Por-
 " ters of the invisible World saw they trembled at him; who rose
 " again from the dead the third Day, and conversed with his Dis-
 " ciples, and fulfilled all his Dispensation; and when forty Days
 " were accomplished he was received up into Heaven, and sitteth
 " on the Right Hand of the Father, and shall come at the last Day
 " of the Resurrection in his Father's Glory, to give unto every one
 " according to his Works. And [we believe] in the Holy Ghost,
 " whom the same Jesus Christ, the Only-begotten of God, pro-
 " mised to send to Mankind, as the Comforter, according to what
 " is written, *I go away to my Father; and I will pray the Father, and*
 " *he shall send you another Comforter, the Spirit of Truth. He shall*
 " *receive from me, and shall teach you, and bring all things to your*
 " *Remembrance.* But as for the Name of *Substance*, as used by the
 " Fathers in a plain Sense, but not understood by the People, it has
 " been cause of Scandal, because the Scriptures have not that
 " Word; we therefore desire that it be taken away, and that no
 " sort of mention be hereafter made of *Substance*, when we speak
 " of God; because the divine Scriptures do never make mention
 " of *Substance* when they speak of the Father and the Son. Only
 " we say that the Son is like to his Father in all things; as also
 " the Holy Scriptures do both say and teach.

(IX.) *The Creed of the Council of Seleucia in Isauria,*
 October 29. A. D. 359.

" WE are not unwilling to own that authentick Creed
 " which was published at the Dedication of the Church
 " at *Antioch*; which we have brought with us, altho' our Fathers
 " did particularly assemble together at that time about th's very
 " Question. But because the Terms, *Of the same*, and *of the like*
 " *Substance*,

“ Substance, have disturbed many, both in former Times, and to
 “ this Day; nay, and because here is a Report that some use ano-
 “ ther new Term, *Of unlike Substance* from the Father, on this ac-
 “ count we reject the Terms, *Of the same*, and, *Of the like Sub-*
 “ *stance*, as Strangers to the Scriptures: And we moreover ana-
 “ thematize that *Of unlike Substance*, and esteem all those of that
 “ Party alien from the Church: But we directly own the *Likeness*
 “ of the Son to the Father; according to the Apostle, who says of
 “ the Son, *Who is the Image of the invisible God*. We do also Pro-
 “ fess and Believe in One God, the Father, Almighty, the Maker
 “ of Heaven and Earth, of all things visible and invisible. We Be-
 “ lieve also in our Lord Jesus Christ, his Son, who was begotten
 “ of him without any Alteration before all Ages, God the Word,
 “ the Only-begotten God of God, the Light, the Life, the Truth,
 “ Wisdom, Power; by whom all things were made, both things
 “ in Heaven, and things on Earth, whether visible or invisible. We
 “ Believe that at the Conclusion of the Ages he took Flesh of the
 “ Holy Virgin, and was made Man, for the putting away of Sin;
 “ that he suffered for our Sins, and rose again, and was received
 “ up into Heaven, and sitteth on the Right Hand of the Fa-
 “ ther, and will come again in Glory to judge the quick and the
 “ dead. We Believe also in the Holy Spirit, which our Saviour
 “ and Lord called also the Comforter; which he promised to send
 “ to his Disciples after his Departure; which also he sent; by
 “ whom he also sanctifies those that believe in the Church, and
 “ are baptized in the Name of the Father, and Son, and Holy Spi-
 “ rit. And as for those that preach differently from this Faith,
 “ the Catholick Church owns them as alien from her. Now those
 “ that peruse that Creed which was lately made at *Sirmium* in the
 “ Presence of our religious Emperor know that it is exactly agree-
 “ able to this Creed.

(X.) *The Creed of the Council of Constantinople; A. D. 360.*
which had been also sent to the Council of Ariminum.

“ **W**E believe in One God, the Father, Almighty; of whom
 “ are all things. And in the Only-begotten Son of God;
 “ who was begotten of God before all Ages, and before all begin-
 “ ning of things; by whom all things were made both visible and
 “ invisible; begotten, and the Only-begotten; the Only one der-
 “ riv'd from the Father alone; God of God; who is like to the
 “ Father that begat him, according to the Scriptures; whose Ge-
 “ neration no one knows, but only the Father who begat him. We
 “ own that he, as the Only-begotten Son of God, was sent by the
 “ Father, and came from Heaven, as it is written, for the Dissolu-
 “ tion of Sin and Death; and that he was begotten by the Holy
 “ Spirit

" Spirit of the Virgin *Mary*, according to the Flesh, as it is written;
 " and conversed with his Disciples, and fulfilled his intire Dispen-
 " sation, according to his Father's Will, and was crucified, and
 " died, and was buried, and descended into the lower Parts of the
 " Earth; at whom the invisible World was affrighted; who also
 " arose from the dead the third Day, and abode with his Disciples;
 " and when forty Days were fulfilled, he was received up again
 " into Heaven, and sitteth on the Right Hand of the Father, and
 " shall come at the last Day of the Resurrection in his Father's
 " Glory, to render to every one according to his Works. And [we
 " believe] in the Holy Spirit, which the Only-begotten Son of God
 " himself, Christ our Lord and God, promised to send to Mankind
 " as a Comforter, according as it is written; the Spirit of Truth,
 " which he sent to them when he was ascended into Heaven. But
 " as for the Word *Essence* which was used in a plain Sense by the
 " Fathers, but has been not understood by the People, and so has
 " been an Offence to them, 'tis our Pleasure that it be taken away;
 " because the Scriptures have no such Word; and that there be
 " not the least mention made of it hereafter, because the divine
 " Scriptures never make mention of the *Essence* of the Father and
 " the Son. Neither indeed ought the Word *Hypostasis* or *Substance*
 " to be used of the Father, and Son, and Holy Spirit. Only we
 " say that the Son is like the Father, as the divine Scriptures say,
 " and teach. But as for all the Heresies, both those that have been
 " formerly condemned, and those that have been lately invented,
 " but are contrary to the Exposition of the Faith here written
 " down, Let them be accursed.

Note here, that *Athanasius* mentions another Creed of the *Arians*
 made soon after this last, or A. D. 361. at *Antioch*, but he does not
 set it down. Only he tells us that it declar'd that the Son is intire-
 ly *unlike* the Father; that the Son had no manner of Similitude to
 the Father; that they did now venture so much farther than ordi-
 nary as to receive those to Communion who openly used the Ex-
 pressions of *Arians*, nay, deliver'd the Churches to their Care, that
 they might securely spread that Doctrine; and that these grossest
Arians were called *Anomeans*, from their asserting that the Son was
unlike his Father, and *Exoucontians*, from their affirming that he was
 made out of nothing; and that the Emperor *Constantius* was the
 Head of them. And this is all that we hear of this Creed.

N. B. Instead of any large Notes of my own upon these *Euse-
 bian*, or, generally speaking, truly ancient, and truly Christian
 Confessions of Faith; and which contain that very Doctrine which
 I ever mean when I own *my self* in any Sense an *Arian*, I shall here
 give the Reader the famous Bishop *Bull's* Opinion of them, and of
 that Body of Christian People which were guided by those great
 and numerous Councils that composed and owned them; and shall
 beg of those *Athanasians* who are capable of considering things im-
 partially

partially, and have any Value for that Learned and orthodox Bishop's Judgment in so important a Case, to speak plainly, whether this *Eusebian* Doctrine be Heretical or not? or whether it be fair to call the Authors of these Creeds *Hereticks*, under pretence that they meant more than they wrote perpetually? The Bishop's Words are these:

(a) " But you will say, if *Arius's* Opinion was so entirely heretodox, how could it, in so little a time after its Rise, prevail so mightily? that, as *Jerom* once complain'd, " Almost all the Christian World was become *Arian*. I answer, that if to become *Arian* be to embrace the proper Doctrines of *Arius*, it is not true (with *Jerom's* good leave I speak it,) that the greatest part of the Christian World did ever become *Arian*. 'Tis true, that in the Days of *Constantius*, and for some time afterward, a great Number, especially in the Eastern Parts, embraced the *Arians*; while only a very few comparatively embraced the *Arian* Heresy it self. For indeed those lying Wretches us'd to conceal their impious Doctrines, unless where their Auditors were for their Purpose; and they made Profession of their Faith in almost the same Words which at first sight contain'd the ancient and Catholick Opinion. Whence it came to pass that they were almost every where esteemed true Catholicks; and were owned even by those who otherwise heartily detested their Notions. By this fraudulent Management they gain'd the Favour not only of the Christian Laity, but even of many Bishops who were too credulous in this Case. Do but read the Confessions of Faith made by the *Arians*, as they are set down by *Athanasius* and others, and you will find they are drawn up generally in Words so Catholick, that you would readily believe the Men that drew them up were certainly Catholicks. They call Christ *God, truly God, nay, truly and perfectly God by Nature*: To call him a *Creature* they seem to abhor, as Language not to be born; and they profess that he existed before all Ages. And what is there that they don't say, which the Catholicks said, excepting their Omission of that single Word *Consubstantial*? Hence it was that *Hilary*, who liv'd in the Days when this sort of Antichristianism was regnant, congratulated the Truth, that the Body of Christian People continued Catholick, even under those *Arian* Bishops to whom they adher'd. — What *Valesius* notes also is worthy to be observ'd, that *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia* himself continued in Communion with the Church of *Rome* to his very Death. — And indeed the *Arians* seem to have had the most plausible Pretence on their Side on account of the Word *Consubstantial*, which was established by the *Nicene* Fathers. For they artfully complain'd that they were condemned by those *Nicene* Fathers for the rejecting one single Word, which

" was no where found in the Scriptures, and which was liable to
 " such dangerous Interpretations; while otherwise they no way
 " departed from the ancient and Catholick Faith. This Profession
 " of theirs was believ'd by many not only of the Laity; but of the
 " Catholick Bishops; who accordingly did freely offer them the
 " right Hand of Christian Fellowship and Communion; nay, and
 " had a great Aversion to those Catholick Bishops, who, aware of
 " the Treachery of the *Arians*, adher'd firmly to the *Consubstanti-*
 " *ality*, as contentious Persons, and such as strove about Words to
 " no Purpose, and lightly disturbed the Peace of the Church; or
 " indeed as themselves heterodox, and such as conceal'd heretical
 " Notions under that Word. — Nay farther, *Theodorit* plainly af-
 " firms that the Emperor *Constantius* himself, who was a bitter Ene-
 " my to the Patrons of the Word *Consubstantial*, was yet really Ca-
 " tholick. — Whose Testimony, as to *Constantius*, is greatly con-
 " firm'd by those high Encomiums which *Gregory Nazianzen* bestows
 " on the same Emperor in his first Investive against *Julian*; where,
 " among other things, he gives him the Titles of the *Most Divine*
 " *Emperor*, and *The greatest Lover of Christ*, which Praises *Nazian-*
 " *zen*, one zealous on the side of the Catholicks, and a profess'd
 " Enemy of the *Arians*, had certainly never so freely bestowed on
 " *Constantius*, if he had thought him to have really imbib'd the *Arian*
 " Impiety. Another Argument for which may be that the Confes-
 " sions of Faith which were made by the *Arian* Councils under *Con-*
 " *stantius* did almost all in Words own the same Faith which was
 " established at the Council of *Nice*, only they omitted the Word
 " *Consubstantial*!

N. B. This *Constantius* whom Bishop *Bull* owns as orthodox at
 the bottom, and to whom *Nazianzen* gives those Characters of *Most*
Divine, and *the greatest Lover of Christ*, has with *Athanasius* the
 Character of *most impious*; of *that impious Prince who fought against*
Christ; and *like to Antichrist himself* (a). He compares him with
Saul, who order'd above 300 Priests to be slain. He says (b) he
 was worse than *Ahab*, who slew *Naboth*; that he resembled another
Pharaoh; and was worse than *Pilate*: with a great deal more to the
 same Purpose.

N. B. We are here also carefully to observe that the Arguments
 of *Athanasius* and others against the *Arians* do generally concern
 none but the direct Followers of *Arius*, with their rash and novel
 Notions and Expressions, viz. That *there was a Duration when the*
Son was not; that *he was not before he was begotten*; and that *he*
was made out of nothing; or had his Existence in the very same
 Manner that the subordinate Creatures had. None of which things
 that Body of the Church which oppos'd the *Athanasian* Heresy ever

(a) *De Synod.* § 25. Op. p. 737. (b) *Hist. Arian. ad Monach.* § 67,
Eccl. P. 384, &c. justified;

justified; and the grossest Part they utterly abhorr'd, nay sometimes anathematiz'd, as we have seen; so that those who then owned that our Saviour was really *begotten* or *created*, but *before all time*, and *all Ages*; and that he was really a *created Being*, but not like the *ordinary created Beings*, either as to his Origin, or as to his Nature; which was the Doctrine of those numerous Councils in the fourth Century that opposed the *Athanasians*, are seldom affected either by the Arguments, or by the publick Determinations of the *Athanasian Councils* themselves; any farther than they were resolved to support those philosophical Expressions of the *Coeffentiality*, and *Consubstantiality*, which had been introduc'd at the Council of *Nice*, which were yet at first understood in a Sense very different from that which has been suppos'd in the later Ages of the Church, and which were on all Hands owned to be *Unscriptural*.

N. B. Since therefore the Doctrine and Language of these *Eusebian Creeds* are undoubtedly right, true, and Christian; while part of that of the *Nicene* and *Athanasian Creeds* is at the best very uncertain, doubtful and unscriptural, 'tis evident the former Councils acted in the most safe, prudent, and Christian Manner about these Matters; and that the latter can never be justified by the Laws of the Gospel; but have been the proper Occasion of many Disturbances, Corruptions, and Disorders among the Christians; of great Scandal and Reproaches among the Heathen; and of mighty Offences against our Holy Religion among the *Jews* and *Mahometans*, in all the past Ages of the Church.

N. B. From these Creeds, and the larger of *Eunomius* we may observe how unjustly the *Eusebians* and *Arians* are sometimes accused, as if they denied Christ to be *God*, or a *God by Nature*; and asserted he was so only *by Office*; as a meer Man is suppos'd to be in the *Socinian Hypothesis*. Whereas they freely own that a meer Man, or even any of the Angels, or Arch-angels are *by Nature* incapable of that Divinity, of those Attributes and Perfections, and of that Power and Authority which belongs to our blessed Saviour; and that none but the Only-begotten Son of the supreme God can properly be styl'd *God the Word*, *The Only-begotten God*, or the like: And they acknowledge that his *Nature* is as much exalted above the *Natures* of all the subordinate Beings, as his Attributes and Prerogatives are above theirs; and that he is therefore a Divine Person, or a *God by Nature*; tho' without supposing that *Nature* equal to, or the very same with the *Nature* of the supreme God of the Universe; as even the Council of *Nice* it self never asserted it to be.

N. B. But what is here and elsewhere to be above all things remark'd is this, That none of the peculiar Doctrines or Language of the *Athanasians* are ever so much as pretended to be built on any certain Divine Authority, Sacred Writings, or Apostolical Tradition, even by any of their Defenders in the fourth Century it self: But all is every where justified by humane Reasonings, and subtle Deductions;

Deductions only; while the foregoing Creeds and Faith of the *Eusebians* are on both Sides owned to be built on undeniable Authority, and deriv'd down in an uninterrupted Manner from Christ and his Apostles. Thus it is confess'd on all Hands that our Saviour's *Consubstantiality* with the Father, or Derivation from his *Substance*, is no part of the Christian Revelation; that no inspired Writer, no Apostolical Tradition, no ancient Creed or Account of the Faith say a Word of it; only 'tis alledg'd that some philosophical Christians had us'd the Word in the third Century; and that by metaphysick Reasoning some such Notion may be inferr'd, and that is all. Thus the *Coeternity* of the Son with the Father, in any Sense, is not pretended to have any certain original Text of Scripture, Article of the Creed, or Tradition from the Apostles for it; but only that there is no direct *Time* or *Duration* determin'd for his *Generation* or *Creation*; and that therefore 'tis not safe to fix one; and that the Phrases of Antiquity *before all Ages*, and *before time*, and that he was *always* with the Father, with the like, may be suppos'd to imply somewhat of that Nature; tho' not as of a real, distinct active Being or Person, yet as pre existing *potentially*, or *virtually*, or as an *Attribute*, in his Father before his actual Generation or Creation; and that it is not perhaps, metaphysically speaking, utterly impossible or inconceivable that a Being really derived from the supreme God, may be yet in Duration *coeternal* with him. Thus it is not pretended that the Scripture, or original Creed, or Traditional Doctrines ever directly tell us that the Word of God assum'd a humane rational Soul at the Incarnation; that this rational Soul had any Share in the Redemption of Men, or Actions of Christ, and that it was by a mysterious *Hypostatical Union* of a compleat humane, with a compleat divine Nature, and by a consequent *Communication of Properties*, that the several things of very different Natures ascrib'd to Christ are to be reconcil'd, and accounted for: But all this is to be drawn out of several Texts, which say nothing of it directly, by probable Inferences only. Thus it is not pretended that Christ or his Apostles have any way expressly told us, that *the Holy Ghost is God*; that Christ is the *same* with the *supreme God*; and that all the *Three Persons are One God*, or the *One God* of the Christian Religion; nay 'tis own'd that there is great Evidence that *the Father alone is the One God*. All that is pleaded therefore are some humane Deductions from other things that are occasionally said of the Son and Spirit; whereby it is suppos'd the former Assertions may be justified. And the like is to be said of the rest of the orthodox Doctrines since the Days of *Athanasius*, even where there are sometimes express Texts against them. Nay and all this humane Reasoning, and all these modern Inferences are made use of by those that cry out against such humane Reasonings and Inferences in other Cases; and charge it as an heavy Crime upon Hereticks, particularly upon the *Socinians*, that they make mighty use

of such humane Reasonings where they ought to acquiesce in revealed Truths alone. This is such unaccountable Procedure as deserves the most serious Reflection of all good Christians; and may well convince us of the palpable Indefensibleness of that Cause which reduces Men to such absurd Conduct, and should make them leave their *Athanasian* Guides, and have Recourse to the Law and to the Testimony alone; since 'tis so visible that what they speak not according to this Word, it is because there is no light in them.

*Athanasius's LIFE of ANTHONY the Monk,
as translated in the Reverend Mr. Stephens's As-
cetics, and printed A. D. 1697.*

YOUR Design of not only keeping pace with, but also of outstripping the *Aegyptian Monks* in a virtuous Ascetic Course of Life, is an Entrance upon a very generous and laudable Enterprize. You have at length, I find, got Monasteries of your own, and a Platform of *Monastick Discipline* by you. There is no one but must in Justice commend your Design; and no doubt but God will bring it to Perfection, in case ye be but instant and constant in Prayer for his Blessing.

And since you have an earnest desire of being inform'd, How *St. Anthony* first entred upon an Ascetic way of Living; and what manner of Man he was before; and what sort of End he made at last; and whether the Reports that have pass'd about him are true; in order, I presume, to bring your selves to an Emulation of him; and hereupon have thought fit to request an Account of his Conduct from my Hands: Be ye hereby satisfied, that I have received your Command, and received it with great Affection too; for the Truth of it is, the bare Remembrance of *St. Anthony*, is a Matter of great Advantage to me: Besides too, I am very well satisfy'd, that when you have had an Account of this Man, you will admire him so, as to rival and transcribe his Example; which indeed is a Pattern so exact, that any Monk may form his Solitude by it; and therefore I dare advise you not to dis-believe whatever you may have heard concerning him; but rather to look upon common Reports, as strange as they may seem, to fall far short of what *St. Anthony* did and was: For truly his Fame does not come near his Worth. And I must needs say, that what I send now to you concerning him in this Letter, by reason of the Urgency of your Request, is only an imperfect Relation of some few Passages of his *Life*, which are still fresh in my Memory. And I desire you by no means to leave off Enquiring about him of Passengers from all Quarters; for I am persuaded

suaded did every one speak what they knew of him, his Life would be found a Task too great for any Biographer to undertake to perfect it: For which Reason, as soon as your Letter had reach'd my Hands, I thought fit to send for some of those Monks who us'd frequently to visit him, that by their Information my Narrative might be a little fuller than 'tis now. But because the Scantiness of the Seamen's time and the haste of the Pacquet-Boat straiten'd me so, that I could not tarry till they came; I have us'd my utmost Diligence to acquaint your Reverences with all that I knew my self, (for I have often seen him) and could learn from a Person who was his Servant no small time, and us'd to pour the Water on his Hands when he washed. I have all along ey'd the Truth, so that whoever hears more than he will find here, may safely give Credit to what he hears, as whoever knows less of him can't chuse but have great thoughts of St. *Anthony*; but however, can't revere him so much as he ought who Reads this.

1. St. *Anthony* was born in *Ægypt*, both of Rich and Noble, and (what is better than both) of Christian Parents. And indeed his exact Christian Life was a clear Evidence of his Christian Birth. During his Childhood he was always kept at home, being an utter Stranger to every Body but his Father's Family. And after he was a little grown up, he could not endure to go to School, purely because of an inbred Aversion to keeping Company with other Children: For he had a strong desire to live, as we read of *Jacob*, like a plain Man dwelling in Tents. When his Parents us'd to carry him to Church, (though but a Child) he did not appear Listless or Lazy: Neither, as he grew up, did the least Sign of a refractory Spirit appear in him: But he was always very Obedient to his Parents, and Attentive to the Prayers and Homilies, and strictly careful to reap some Profit to his Soul from what he had heard. Tho' he saw his Parents had a great Estate, yet he never was concerned for dainty Victuals, or variety of Dishes, being not in the least solicitous about Matters of that kind; but was always pleas'd with whatever was provided, and never desired any thing else.

2. At about Eighteen or Twenty Years of Age, at the most, he was left an Orphan, with an only and very young *Sister*, and trusted by his Parents, (notwithstanding he was so young) when they dy'd, with the Management of the whole Family and Estate, and the Education of his *Sister*. Before Six Months after their Decease was expir'd, as he was going (according to his Custom) to Church, and ordering his Faculties into a fit frame for Devotion, that Text, (a) of the Apostles leaving all to follow their Saviour, came particularly into his Mind in the midst of his Walk; as also concerning

(a) Mat. XIX. 27.

those who in the *Acts*, *Sold their Estates*, and brought and laid them at the Apostles Feet, to be distributed as every one had need (a); and what, and how great an Hope remains laid up for them in Heaven: With these Thoughts he went into the Church. Now it happened on that Day, that that part of the Gospel was read, where we read our Lord saying to the Rich Man, *If thou wilt be perfect, Go sell all thy Possessions, and give unto the Poor, and then come and follow me; and thou shalt have Treasure in Heaven* (b). This Lesson St. Anthony apply'd (as particularly directed to him) to himself; and hereupon embracing the Remembrance of the generous Example of those Saints, as injected into his Mind by God himself, accordingly parted with the Estate of his ancient Family, in all 300 Measures (which the *Egyptians* call *Aroures*) of very rich and fertile Land, and distributed the Money, for which he sold it, among the Inhabitants of the Village where he liv'd; that neither his own nor his Sister's Mind might be encumbered with it any longer. His Moveables he also sold, and gave the Money to the Poor.

3. And having reserv'd some small Matter for his Sister, the next time he went to Church he heard our Lord say in the Gospel (c), *Take no Thought for the Morrow*: And therefore, without any more delay, he e'en went out Immediately, and distributed that too among the Poor. And having given her in Charge to some experienc'd and trusty Virgins, to be Educated in their Cloysters, he betook himself to an Ascetick Life without Doors, keeping a very close Eye upon himself, and leading a very rigid and abstemious Life; for at that time there scarcely were any settled Monasteries in *Egypt*, neither did any Monk live in a remote Wilderness: But whoever had a mind to order himself very severely, exercis'd himself in some solitary Place not far from his own Town. At this Time there was an old Man in a neighbouring Village that had oblig'd himself to a solitary Life from his Youth. St. Anthony having observ'd him, was inflam'd with Emulation, and at first continued alone in some Place or other that was hard by the Village. And where-ever he heard of any studious and zealous Courter of Vertue, like a provident Bee, he would be sure to go and find him out, never returning to his own Abode till he had seen him, and could bring something back with him, which might serve for a part of a Viaticum to bear up his Spirit in his Progress to Heaven. After he had continu'd thus some time, he squar'd his Mind with such Exactness, as to resolve never to return again to the Place where his Ancestors Seat was; nor so much as to bear the secular Concerns of his Relations in his Memory any longer; that he might intirely apply his Mind and Affections to a vigorous Assiduity in Asceticks.

(a) *Acts* IV. 35. (b) *Mat.* XI. 21. (c) *Mat.* VI. 34.

And therefore he wrought with his own Hands, because 'tis written, *Let not the Idle eat (b)*. Part of what he got by his Labour he subsisted on himself, and part of it he gaveto the Poor. He *Prayed* continually, because he had learnt that we ought to pray incessantly in private. He attended so diligently to the *Scriptures*, when read, that nothing fell to the ground from him, but he held it so fast that his Mind was as good as a Library to him. For the sake of his Demeanour, he was *belov'd* by all: He *submitted* with great readiness, to all virtuous Persons whom he visited: He would, with great diligence, by himself mark every *virtuous Person's* Vertue, for which he was peculiarly Eminent, and stamp them upon himself. In one, he would observe an Obligingness of Carriage; in another an unwearied Fervour in Prayer; in a third, Calmness of Spirit; in a fourth, great Condescension and Charity: He would very affectionately eye this Person's great Sprightliness, Vigilance, and moderate use of Sleep; and another Man's Affability, Delight in the *Scriptures*, and Readiness in Conferences on Spiritual Subjects: Here he admir'd one for his Fortitude, Magnanimity, Patience, and Courage; there another for his Fastings, hard Lyings upon the Ground, and other such like Arts of subduing the Body: But principally, and above all, he would seal on his Heart and Soul that Piety and vehement Affection for Christ, and stream of mutual Love, which was very obvious and legible in them all. Thus he us'd constantly to go back to his own Cell always fraught with such *useful Observations* as these; making himself the Repository of all those Excellencies he could spy in others; whence he was wont to elicit and display them in a Bright and exemplary Conversation. All the Contest he had with those of the same Age with himself, was, to be second to none of them in *Christian Discipline*: In which sort of Victories he behaved himself so modestly, that no body fretted at him for Envy; but rather, on the contrary, took Delight in taking Notice of him; insomuch, that the whole Neighbourhood that had any regard for Vertue, and all with whom he convers'd, observing his Goodness, us'd to call him *Theophiles*, or God's Friend: The Elder, calling him Son; and the Younger, Brother.

4. But *the Devil*, who is envious, and hates every thing that is commendable, could not endure to see such a noble Purpose in so young a Person; but made it his Endeavour to thwart all his Designs to his Disadvantage.

At first he strove to bring him off of his Ascetick Course of Life, by throwing into his Mind a Remembrance of his Estate, of the Nearness of his Relations, and a Solicitude for them; a Love of Money, and Desire of Glory; great Varieties of Pleasure, and other such Recommendations of the Methods of the World; as

(a) 2 *Theff.* III. 10.

also, Thoughts of the Ruggidness of Vertue, and how much Labour it costs a Man to obtain it; and, to mention no more, of the Weakness of his Body, and the long Remainder of his Life. In short, the Devil rais'd a great deal of Dust in his Thoughts, that by bemudding and disordering his Mind, he might make St. *Anthony* let go his Design. But as soon as the Enemy saw himself too weak to foil St. *Anthony's* Resolution; and quite contrariwise, that he himself was emasculated by the Holy Man's Steddiness, supplanted by a mighty Faith, and fall'n by reason of his continual and earnest Prayers, he assum'd a new Boldness and Confidence in those Weapons which he knows every Man carries about him in his own Flesh against himself; for here he mostly lies in Ambush against the Souls of the Young. Accordingly he renews his Assault against the Youth, Night and Day attacking him with great Turbulence; insomuch, that standers by could easily discern a Combat between them; for the Devil threw *filthy Thoughts* into his Mind; and the Young Man routed them out as fast by Prayers: The Adversary us'd his Policies to make his Body dissolute, and rebellious; on the other Hand St. *Anthony* fortify'd his Soul, and us'd his Body hardly, and kept it under by Faith, and Fastings, and Tears, and earnest Addresses to God. But still the Devil, though worsted, was very hardy, and appeared to him in the *Shape of a Woman*, represented Beautiful in all respects, only to impose upon St. *Anthony*. But *Anthony*, by placing the noble Extract of his Spirit and intellectual Power in a clear view before himself, quench'd this Firebrand of Deceit. Nevertheless the Devil would yet be hinting the Softness and Affectingness of this Pleasure; on the other hand, *Anthony*, like an enraged and exasperated Person, by revolving in his Mind God's Menaces of Fire, and the Toyl of those Furrows which the never-dying Worm plows in the Consciences of the Damn'd, escap'd free without being hurt, or so much as sing'd by his Temptations. All which dash'd the Enemy mightily out of Countenance; for, he that once thought of being equal with God himself, was now slighted and baulk'd by a Young Man; and he that generally vaunts and vapours so insolently over Flesh and Blood, was now overthrown by a Man, even whilst he wore his frail Body of Flesh: For our Lord, who wore Flesh Himself for our sake, and gave the Body a Conquest over the Devil, wrought and wrestled together with this Holy Youth. So that every one who strives in good earnest with the Devil, may, with good reason, say, *Not I, but the Grace of God with me* (a). At last, the Devil perceiving that he could not overthrow and discourage *Anthony* by this Device, gnashing his Teeth, and being like one beside himself to see himself drove out; he, who is really black in his Nature within, appear'd in the Form

of a *Black Boy* to *Anthony*, and as it were lying at his Feet, (for the crafty Spirit being turn'd out of his Heart, now no longer invaded his Thoughts) assum'd an Humane Voice, and said, I have deceived many, yea, verily, I have worsted and deceived very many: But having now exerted my Strength against thee, as against many others, I have been weaken'd and overcome. Who is this (said *Anthony*) that talks thus to me? The Devil answer'd in a wretched whining Tone; To this Day I have ply'd soft fleshly Allurements in Young Persons, and have been call'd, The Spirit of Fornication. How many, when willing to be Sober, have I deceiv'd? How many have I, by Hypocrisie, and sence-affecting Motions, drawn aside? I am he of whom the Prophet speaks, *Ye have been deceiv'd by the Spirit of Fornication* (a): 'Twas by me that they were tripp'd up: I am he who have so often disturb'd thee, and as often been humbled by thee. *Anthony* therefore having paid his Thanks to God and being become more valiant in Spirit, said; Hence 'tis plain that thou art very contemptible, for thy Soul is black and swarthy, and thou art weak as a Child; neither will I, for the future, give way to any Sollicitude upon thy Account; for the Lord is my Helper, and I shall look down upon mine Enemies with Scorn; which he had no sooner said, but the Black Monster fled away, being afraid to speak or come near the Heroe.

5. This was *St. Anthony's first Conflict* with the Devil; or rather, (to speak properly, and as I ought) this was our Lord's first Defeat of the Devil in *Anthony*, who, *Condemn'd Sin in the Flesh, that the Righteousness of the Law might be fulfilled in us, who walk not according to the Flesh, but the Spirit* (b). But for all this *St. Anthony* did not neglect himself, as if the Devil were intirely under his Feet: Nor did the Enemy, as tho' vanquish'd, desist from forming Stratagems; for he rang'd about, like a roaring Lyon, seeking out some Pretence against him. *Anthony* had learnt from the Holy Scriptures, that the Wiles of the Devil are many continually, and therefore continually gave himself to Exercise; considering, that since the Devil could not deceive his Heart by Pleasure, he would try the more subtly and diligently to do it by other Methods; for the Devil is Sin's sure Friend. Wherefore *Anthony* tan'd his Body more and more, lest after he had conquer'd in some Combates, he should be dragg'd a Captive by him in others. Hence he resolves to accustom himself to *severer Discipline* still. At which Resolution many were startled through surprize. But however, he went thorow with it very patiently; for the bent of his Soul having lasted a long time, wrought such a good habit in him, that he seiz'd on every, even the least Occasion of exerting his strenuous pursuit after Vertue.

(a) *Hos.* IV. 12. (b) *Rom.* VIII. 3, 4.

6. He *watch'd* so very much, that oft-times he lay without Sleeping all Night long; and this not once, or so, but very often to Admiration. He *eat* once a Day, after Sun-set, sometimes but once in two Days; nay, and sometimes but once in four Days. His Diet was Bread and Salt: His Drink only Water. Instead of a Feather-Bed, he *lay* on a Mat; and sometimes on the bare Ground. He never anointed himself, because he said 'twas more proper for the Younger to addict themselves to Ascetick Exercises, than to seek out those things which effeminate the Body: They should rather accustom themselves to labour, and to bear the Apostle's saying in their Mind, *When I am weak, then I am strong* (a); for then (said he) the Vigour of the Spirit is renew'd, and becomes *Athletick*, when the Pleasures of the Body languish and are impair'd. This also was an admirable Thought of his, (*viz.*) That he did not think it proper to measure our *Progress in Vertue*, by the length of the Time we first set out, or by our Retirement, so much as by our Divine Desires, and Longings, and the Encrease of our Holy Purpose. And therefore he would not remember the Time past; but every Day as though it were the first, he would express a more ardent Thirst and Endeavour after a further Advance. Speaking by the way of Soliloquie, that of the Apostle, *Forgetting that which is behind, and pressing forward* (b), and remembering the Voice of the Prophet *Elias*, who saith, *As the Lord of Host lives, before whom I stand, I will surely shew my self to day* (c): For he observes from the Prophet's saying, *To Day*, he did not take a measure of the Time past; but every Day, as if it were, laying the first Foundation of his Vertue, he studied to approve himself such an one as he ought to be before God; pure in Heart, and ready to obey his Will, and no ones else. Every *Christian Ascetick* (said he) ought to see and learn within himself his own Life from *Elias*, as in a Glass.

7. *Anthony* having by this time, and by these means, recollected and simplify'd himself, Travelled to *the Tombs*, which were at a considerable distance from that Town, having first acquainted one of his Acquaintance with it, who supply'd him with Bread enough to subsist upon a good while. When he was got thither, he went into one of the Tombs, and shut the Door over his Head, and tarried within there by himself.

Now the Devil not being able to away with this, and afraid lest, in a little time, the whole *Desart* should be fill'd with Asceticks, came one Night with a great Company of Devils; and beat and bruis'd him at that fearful rate, that he lay along time Dumb, because of the Extremity of his Torments; for he protested his Pains were so great, that 'twas impossible Men should be the Instruments of the like. But, by the Providence of God, (for the Lord does not for-

(a) 2 Cor. XII. 10: (b) Phil. II. 14. (c) 2 Kings XVIII. 15.

get those who hope in Him) the Day after an Acquaintance came with some Loaves to him, who, as soon as he had open'd the Door, seeing him lying along, like a dead Man upon the Ground, took him up and carried him to the Town-Church, and laid him upon the Pavement, where many of his Relations and Towns-People sat by him, (as they there us'd to do about the Corps of the Dead.) Now about Midnight *Anthony* came to himself, and awoke, and saw all asleep but himself and his Acquaintance that brought him from the Tombs. *Anthony* therefore beckon'd to him, and desir'd him to carry him back to the Tombs without disturbing any of them. Accordingly his Friend carried him.

8. And when he was return'd thither, shutting down the Tomb-top, he tarried within there as before; and not being able to stand, because of the Stripes the Devil gave him, he pray'd lying prostrate; and after he had pray'd, he said aloud, *I Anthony am here; I don't run away for your Stroaks or Terrours: For though you inflict more upon me, nothing shall separate me from the Love of Christ.* Then he sung that of the Psalmist, *Though Hosts encamp against me, yet shall not my Heart be afraid.* Thus did *Anthony* think and speak: But the envious Enemy, and hater of all Good, wondering to see him appear so confident in spite of all that he 'endur'd, sounded his Hounds together, and being burst with Envy, said; See here, we have not tam'd nor tir'd this Man, either with the Spirit of Fornication, or with our Stripes and Buffetings, on the contrary, he is grown the more daring against us; let us therefore set upon him some other way, (for the Devil has always new Schemes ready at hand to promote his malicious Designs.) Wherefore, not long after, they came and made such a great Noise in the Night-time, that the whole Monastery seem'd to be shook, and the Walls of the Cell to be broke through by the Devil's transforming themselves into the Shapes of all sorts of Beasts, Lyons, Bears, Leopards, Bulls, Serpents, Asps, Scorpions and Wolves; every one of which mov'd and acted agreeably to the Creatures which they represented; the Lyon roaring, and seeming to make towards him, the Bull to butt, the Serpent to creep, and the Wolf to hare towards him, and so in short, all the rest according to their natural Motions; so that *Anthony* was tortured and mangled with them so grievously, that his bodily Pain was greater now than before: However, he was unmov'd, compos'd, wakeful, and himself: He groan'd indeed for Bodily Pains, but he had a sober undisturbed Mind, and as't were, laughing, he said; "If ye had any Strength, it would be enough
"for only one of you to come against me; but because the Lord
"hath enervated you, therefore ye thus try to scare me by a Multitude; and (which is a manifest Indication of your Weakness)
"ye have put on the Shapes of irrational Creatures. If he have
"any Power, if ye have receiv'd any Authority, don't delay, but
"seize me: But if you have not Ability, Why do ye trouble both
"me

“ me and your selves in vain? My Faith in God is a sufficient Seal
“ and Security of his standing by me. The Devils therefore hav-
ing assaulted him a long while to no purpose, gnash'd their Teeth
at him; for they found they mock'd themselves more than they
mock'd him.

9. Moreover, the Lord did not forget *Anthony's* Bravery at this
time, but came to his Help; for as *Anthony* look'd up, the Roof of
the Cell was as it were open'd, and there was a Beam of Light
shooting down, as it were, upon him; whereupon the Devils strait-
way became Speechless; *Anthony's* Pain too presently ceas'd, and
the Roof clos'd again. Now *Anthony* being sensible of the Ease
that had been sent him, and that he had gain'd Breath, and respite
from his Dolours, spoke respectfully to the Vision, and said;
“ Where wast thou before? Why didst thou not appear at first,
“ that thou might'st assuage my Pain? And a Voice said unto him,
“ *Anthony*, I was here; but I waited to see thy Behaviour under
“ this Tryal; and since thou hast valiantly gone through it, and
“ hast not been conquered, I will always be thy Helper, and make
“ thee famous in all Places. Having heard this, he rose and pray-
ed, and grew so strong that he perceived he had more strength
now in his Body than he had before; being now near the 35th
Year of his Life.

10. The Day following, as he was walking out, he found him-
self stronger bent to the Exercise of Religion; and he went to
that old Man (whom I mention'd before) that Night, and would
fain have co-habited with him in the Desert: But the Old Man re-
fusing, because of his Age, and the Unusualness of the thing, *Anthony*
immediately fled into the Mountain. Now the Enemy again
observing his Zeal, and being willing to retard it, laid the *sem-*
blance of a large piece of Plate in his way. *Anthony* perceiving his
Craft, and spying the Devil in the Dish, chid it after this manner:
“ Whence should this Dish come hither? This is no beaten Road,
“ neither is here any Traveller's tread: If it had been lost, 'tis too
“ big not to be recover'd again presently: Doubtless it would have
“ been found if they had return'd; and, doubtless, had any one
“ lost it, he would have return'd because the Place is so solitary.
“ This is certainly one of the Devil's Tricks: But, however, thou
“ shalt not impede my Holy Purpose so: May it perish with thee.
No sooner was the Word utter'd, but the Plate disappear'd, like
Smoak before the Fire.

11. Another time he saw not only a resemblance, but real Gold
thrown in the way: Whether it was a bad Spirit, or some good
Power that laid it there to try the Heroe, and to shew the Devil
that he did not value real Money, he neither told me, nor do I
know any more of it than that it was really what it appeared to be.
Anthony wondered at the abundance of it, and leaping over it, as a
Man in a Fright over a Fire, never stood so much as to look back

upon it; but run away so fast and so far, that he was latent a considerable Time after.

And now St. *Anthony* continuing still more and more intent upon his Purpose, placed himself in an empty Castle that was on the other side of the River; though before he came 'twas full of reptile Creatures, yet when he went in the Serpents left the Place, as tho' it had been haunted by an Enemy. Here, after he had stop'd up the Entry, he laid in Bread enough to serve him half a Year, (which the *Thebans* often do; nay, sometimes they will continue without moulding a Year together) and having a continued supply of Water within, he winded up his Soul to God. There he continued always in his Monastery, having entred it, as a Holy Chancel; neither stirring out himself, nor taking Notice of Comers; only once in six Months he took in some Loaves at the top of the House.

12. Some of his Acquaintance came often to him, and because he would not let them in, liv'd often without doors whole Days and Nights by him, and seem'd to hear a tumultuous rout within, bawling and wailing from within, and crying, "Get away from our Place; What have you to do in the Wilderness, since you countenance none of our Devices? Those that were without thought it might be some Travellers that had got in to him by Ladders at the top of the Castle; but after they had leant down and peep'd thro' a little crack and saw no body, they concluded they were Devils; and being afraid, they call'd to St. *Anthony*; but he heeded the Devils more than them; and whereas they expected to have seen him dead, they heard him saying, *Let God arise, and his Enemies be scattered: Let them vanish, as the Smoak vanisheth: As the Wax melteth before the Fire, so Sinners shall perish from the Presence of God.* And again, *All Nations compassed me round about; but in the Name of the Lord I stav'd them off.*

13 Thus did he lead Twenty Years in private Exercise, never stirring out, or seen by any one. But, at last many others desiring to imitate his *Ascetick Life*, and other Acquaintance coming to him, and breaking open the Door by force, *Anthony* came out of the Castle, as out of an inaccessible Sanctuary, being matriculated a Member of the Heavenly *Jerusalem*, and become full of God. The Spectators, when he came out, were in an Amaze, to see his Body, that had been so belabour'd by Devils, in the same Shape in which it was before his Retirement. The Temper of his Soul was very pure; neither clouded by Sadness, nor shattered by Voluptuousness: Neither Laughter nor Melancholy held him in their Chains: The sight of the Multitude did not disturb him; nor their Praises make him vain: But he was intirely smooth and regular, steered by Reason and Revelation, and fixed in the primitive State of Nature. Our Lord healed many sick Persons by him. He also cleansed many that were possessed, comforted many that were grieved, and reconciled many that were fallen out, charging them all to prefer none of

of the things of this World before the Love of Christ; discoursing and exhorting them to be mindful of future Goods, and of the great *Philanthropy* of God, who spared not his own Son, but gave him up for us all. He perswaded many to chuse a solitary Life; and by this means there came to be many *Monasteries* in the Mountains: So that now the Desarts were turned into a City by Monks that left their Estates and Houses, and entred themselves Members of the Heavenly City.

14. Once he had an Occasion to pass over the Trench of the *Arsenoites*, to see some of his Brethren Monks; which Trench was very full of Crocodiles; but St. *Anthony*, and all that were with him, by the pure Virtue of Prayer went over unhurt. When he returned to his Monastery, he obliged himself to very severe and Youth-like Enterprizes. By his Conferences he would be continually encreasing the Fervour of other Monks, and exciting many others to the Love of Exercise; and by the magnetism of his Discourses many more Monasteries were erected; all looking upon him as their Father.

15. One Day among the rest, as he was walking out, he told the other of his Brethren Monks, (who came to him with a Desire to hear him) in the *Ægyptian* Language, that the *Holy Scriptures* are sufficient for Instruction: But, nevertheless, 'tis decent for us to confirm one another in the Faith by Exhortation, and to chear and anoint each other's Spirits by mutual *Discourses*. Wherefore do ye my Sons, bring your Father what ye know; and I, who am your Elder, will communicate to you what I know by Experience: But be sure, in a peculiar manner, to take care to be communicative and unanimous; and that now ye have begun, ye don't grow slack, nor faint in your Warfare; nor say with your selves we have laid out so much; *item*. so much time upon Exercise: But rather, as beginning every day, let us inlarge our Resolution; for the Life of Man altogether is very short, if we compare it with future Ages: All our Time is nothing to Eternal Life. Every thing else is sold for its Value, and like is exchanged for like: But the Promise we have of Eternal Life is a cheap Purchase. For 'tis writ, *The Days of our Life are Seventy Years, and if by great Strength we reach Four-score, or more, they are but Labour and Sorrow*. Now, if we spend Eighty Years in Exercise, we shall not reign an Hundred Years for it; but instead of an Hundred, we shall reign for ever and ever. Again; After we have contended on Earth, our Inheritance will not be upon Earth; but we hold Promises of Heaven. Again; after we have laid aside a Mortal Body, we are cloathed with an Immortal One. Wherefore, Children, let us not faint; neither let us think we lay out much Time for God, or do any great Matters; for the Sufferings of this present Life are not worthy to be compared with the Glory that shall be revealed. Neither let us think that we have parted with great Possessions; for the whole Earth is very
small,

small, with respect to Heaven. For just as one who parts with a Mite, for an Hundred Broad Pieces: So, were any one Lord of all the Earth, and parted with it for Heaven, he parts with a Mite, and receives an Hundredfold. But if all the Earth is not worth Heaven, then, certainly, he who leaves a few Acres for it, does, in a manner, leave nothing at all. If, therefore, any of us part with a Mansion, or with Gold, he should neither vaunt nor despond: But we should rather consider, that if we don't leave them for the sake of Vertue; yet, afterwards, when we Die, we often leave them to whom we would not; as the Preacher has minded us. Shall we not therefore leave it for the sake of Vertue, to inherit a Kingdom? Let us have a Thirst after true Possessions; for, What does it signify to possess those things which we cannot carry away with us? Let us rather acquire those Goods which will follow us into the other World; such as are Wisdom, Justice, Sobriety, Fortitude, Spiritual Prudence, Charity, Love of Worldly Poverty, Faith in Christ, Freedom from Anger, Delight in Hospitality; if we possess these we shall find they will procure us a Mansion in the Land of the Meek. These things duly considered no Person can be *Negligent*, especially if he consider that he is the Lord's Servant, and ought to serve him. Since therefore every one is his Servant, no one should dare to say, I do not work to day, for I wrought yesterday; or by measuring the time past, to be idle for the time to come. But every Day a true Disciple of Christ will shew the same Readiness of Mind, that (as 'tis written,) he may please his Lord, and not run a risque in the Concerns of his Soul. So also let us every Day persevere in Exercise, knowing that if we are *Negligent* one day, we shall not be pardoned for it, because we did well the day before. No, God is offended with such Negligence, as we read in *Ezekiel*. So also *Judas*, by one Night's Impiety, lost the Fruits of his time past. Let us therefore, Children, adhere to Exercise, and not suffer our Spirits to be bejaded: for herein the Lord is our Fellow-Labourer, as 'tis written, *The Lord co-operates for Good with every one that wills and works Good*. Now, in order to our not being negligent, there is a Noble saying of the Apostle, on which we should oft meditate, *I die daily* (a): for if we so live as those, who consider they may die every Day, we shall not sin. Whence we learn every Day, when we rise, not to reckon upon our stay till the Evening; and again, when we lie down to sleep, to suppose we shall not rise; because our Life is uncertain by Nature; which Providence daily measures out to us. By being thus dispos'd, and living so every day, we shall not offend; nor lust after any forbidden Object; or be angry with any one; or lay up Treasure on Earth: But thus dying every day, we shall be possessing nothing, and forgive

(a) 1 Cor. XV. 31.

all Offences, being freed from all desire of filthy *Pleasure*; repunting it as transient; always striving, and having the Day of Judgment in our Eye: for a great fear of Eternal Torments takes off the Appetite from Excess of *Pleasure*, and rears up the Soul when it begins to stoop. Wherefore, having set foot in the path of *Vertue*, let us advance faster and faster: and that we may be Masters of all Opportunities before us, let none of us look back as did *Lot's Wife*; for our Lord hath positively said, that *No one that puts his hand to the Plough, and looks back, is fit for the Kingdom of Heaven*. Now, by the Expression, *look back*, is meant nothing else but to change our Thoughts, and to relish the things of this World. Be not startled when ye hear any thing of *Vertue*; neither think strange of the Name; for 'tis not far from us, nor without us; but the Work is in our Power, and an easie matter, if we have but an hearty Resolution. The *Greeks* travel and cross the Seas to learn Letters; but we need not travel for the Kingdom of Heaven; or to cross the Seas for *Vertue*; for our Lord has told us before hand, *The Kingdom of Heaven is within you* (a): Wherefore *Vertue* stands only in need of the Will, since 'tis within us, and built up out of us: For *Vertue* consists of a Soul which has a primitive Natural Temper. Now the Mind is so when it has that Temper wherein it was created. 'Twas created very beautiful and upright; for which Reason *Jesus* the Son of *Nave* bid the People, *Incline your Hearts unto the Lord God of Israel* (b): as *John* also; *Make strait your Paths*; for the Soul's being strait or upright, does consist in its having its intellectual Faculty in that Posture in which it was created. Again; When the Soul bends, or is crooked, from Nature's Posture, then the Soul has Evil imputed to it: Wherefore, the Business is not so difficult as some make it; for if we continue as we were made, we are in a State of *Virtue*: But if we purpose things that are wicked, we are arraigned before God for wicked Persons. If this Accomplishment were such, as that it must necessarily be procur'd from without us, it would be difficult: But since 'tis within us, let us keep our selves from evil, filthy Purposes; and having received so great a Trust from God, let us keep our selves for God, that he may own his Work, when he sees it such as he has made it. Let us contend earnestly, lest *Wrath* tyrannize, or *Lust* domineer over it; for 'tis written, *The Wrath of Man worketh not the Righteousness of God*: But *Lust*, when it hath conceived, brings forth *Sin*; and *Sin*, when it is finished, brings forth *Death*.

But since the Case is so with us, let us be sincerely sober, and, as 'tis written, *Keep our Hearts with all Diligence*: for we have shrewd and subtil *Enemies*, even wicked *Devils*: To which I add, with the Apostle; *We wrestle not against Flesh and Blood; but against Prin-*

(a) *Luke* XVII. 21. (b) *Joshua* XXIV. 23.

icipalities and Powers, against the Rulers of this World, against Spiritual Wickednesses in high places; for there is a vast rout of them in the Air against us: Nor are they far from us: But there is a great Difference in Devils.

But to speak of *their Nature and Diversity* would take up too much time: A Narrative of that kind must be the work of greater Abilities: That which lies upon us as necessary to be known, is, *their various Subtilties against us.* And here be it known, that the Devils were not by Nature, what they are by Name: For God made nothing Evil; But they were created Fair and Good: But having fallen from an Heavenly Prudence, and now wheeling about the Earth, they deceived the *Gentiles* with their Phantasies. And now, that they envy us *Christians*, they leave no stone unturn'd to hinder us from Entering into the Kingdom of Heaven; lest we should get thither whence they fell; Wherefore we stand in need of much Prayer and exercise, till we obtain the Gift of *discerning of Spirits*; for when once a Man has obtain'd that, he may be able to know, which of them is more, and which less wicked; and whither their different Endeavours mostly tend; and by what means every one of them may be conquered and cast out: For they have several Wiles and Stratagems. Hence came that Saying of the Apostle, and his Followers: *For we are not ignorant of his Devices (a).* Since therefore we are tempted by them, we should be setting one another's Souls to rights. Wherefore, I having partly experienced their Wiles, do now, but as a Child, speak something to you about them. Well then; If they observe any Christians, especially Monks, labouring hard to make a considerable Progress in Vertue, they assault and tempt them, by laying continual Obstacles in their way, (*viz.*) evil Thoughts. But, however, we should not be afraid of their Threats; for by Prayer, and Fasting, and Faith in God, they quickly fall. But after they have been thrown, they don't desist; but presently come again subtilly and deceitfully; for if they can't cheat our Hearts by gross Pleasures, they will assault us another way, striving to terrifie us by false Appearances, and transforming themselves into the Shapes of Women, Beasts, Serpents, Bulky Bodies, and Armies of Soldiers: Even then our Hearts should not mis-give us; for they are nothing, and presently disappear; especially if the Christian immures and fortifies himself with the Faith, and the Sign of the Cross: But still they are very bold and impudent: for when they have been thus vanquished, they set up on us another way, and pretend to Prophecy, and foretell things to come: Also to scare us, they will represent themselves so Tall, as to touch the Ceiling, and proportionably Broad, that they may steal those away by such Delusions, whom they could not deceive

(a) 2 Cor. II. 11.

by their Sophistry. But if they find a Soul so secur'd with Faith, and that Hope which attends true Repentance, as to resist them still; at last they bring the Prince of the Devils.

16. He said also that the Devil often appeared just as he is described in *Job*, *His Eyes are like the Eye-lids of the Morning. Out of his Mouth go burning Lamps, and sparks of Fire leap out. Out of his Nostrils goeth Smoke, as out of a Seething-pot or Caldron (a).* When the Prince of the Devils makes such a Figure, the old Impostor strikes Terror upon Flesh, and speaks very big. And therefore he is upbraided, where we read; *He esteemeth Iron as Straw, and Brass as rotten Wood, and looks upon the Sea as a Pot of Oyntment, and the deep Abyss as his Conquest; even the Abyss is to him as a Walk.* And by the Prophet *Ezekiel* the Enemy said, *I will, and I will overtake (b).* And again by another Prophet, *I will grasp the whole Earth in my Hand like a Nest, and take it up like forsaken Eggs (c).* And to speak all in one Word, they often make such Braggs and Promises only to deceive those who worship God. But we that are Faithful should not fear his Appearances; nor give ear to his Words; for *he is a Lyar*, and speaks not a true Word: For, in truth, notwithstanding all his Vaunting, our Saviour draws him, like the Leviathan, by a Hook. *Like an Ox, he has an Halter upon his Head, and his Nostrils are bored with a Ring, and his Lips with an Hoople of Disgrace, like a Fugitive. He is ty'd, like a Sparrow, by the Lord, so that we may justly deride him (d).* He and his Crew crawl now like Serpents: So that now he may be trod upon by us Christians. This is a certain Sign that our way of Living mads and crosses him; for he, who before vapour'd that he would make the Sea like a Pot of Oyntment, and clinch the Earth in his Fist, lo! now he can't so much as hinder you from Exercise; or keep me from speaking to you against him. Wherefore we mind not what he says; neither do we shrink from his Objections and Lyes; for there is nothing but a seeming light in them: They are only, as it were, the Portraits of the Fire prepared for them. They would fain fright us with those Fires with which they will be tormented themselves; but they are quickly detested in their Fallacies, and do not hurt the Faithful: But only give us a semblance of that Fire with which the Wicked will be tormented. Wherefore, it behoves us not to fear; for all their Devices, through the Grace of Christ, come to nought; for they are full of Guile, and ready to be transformed into all Shapes. Hence 'tis that they often pretend to sing Psalms, and cite the Scriptures; and sometimes whilst we are a Reading, they give us Echoes of what we read; and oft, in our Sleep, raise us up to Prayers. And this they will do continually,

(a) *Job* XLI. 18, 19, 20. (b) *Ezek.* XV. 9. (c) *Isa.* X. 14.
(d) *Job* XLI. 1.

not suffering us to rest : Nay, and sometimes they will put on the *Religious Habit* of Monks, and talk like Religious Persons, that they may deceive us by such Appearances ; and when we are deceived, lead us whither they please : But we should not give ear (or listen) to them at all. No ; though they wake us to pray, and advise us not to eat at all ; or pretend to condemn and deject us for those Matters in which they before encouraged us : for they don't do this out of a Principle of Religion, or Truth ; but that they may bring the Simple into Despair, and make them apt to say, Exercise is unprofitable, and so make them nauseate a Solitary, as a very grievous and burthensome way of Living, and may entangle those who have entred into a Course of *Self-Government*. Wherefore, a Prophet, whom the Lord sent, has declared such Miserable : *Who be to him who offers his Neighbour thick dregs to drink (a) ;* because such Schemes and Purposes do turn us out of the Path that leads up to Vertue : for our Lord himself muzzled the Devils, tho' they spoke Truth, and commanded them to be silent ; for they did speak Truth when they said, *Thou art the Son of God (b),* lest with the Truth they also silyly sow their Perverseness with the more Advantage ; and that he may accustom us not to hearken to them, though they seem to speak Truth ; for 'tis very unseemly for us, who have the Holy Scriptures, and Deliverance by our Saviour, to be taught by the Devil, who kept not his own Station, but studied Disorder : For this reason he is forbid to quote Scripture ; *Unto the Wicked, said God, wherefore dost thou utter my Statutes, and takest my Covenant in thy Mouth (c) :* For they do pretend, and disturb all things to delude the Simple : Sometimes they stamp, sometimes they laugh, and sometimes they hiss. But when one regards them not, then they weep and lament, as vanquished : For this Reason the Lord God muzzled the Devils. We therefore having learnt this from the Holy Scriptures, ought to resist them, and imitate their Resoluteness and Stratagems against us. Pray eye the Example of David, *Whilst the Wicked was before me I was deaf, and still, and held my peace, even from good Words : And again, Like a deaf Man I heard not, and as one who is dumb I opened not my Mouth : I became like a Man who does not hear (d).* Wherefore let us not hear them, as being Strangers to us ; nor obey them, although they wake us to go to Prayers, or talk about Fasts : But rather let us attend to the Purpose of our Exercise, and not be deceived by them, who always act with Deceit : Neither let us be afraid, though they should come with Force against us, and threaten to kill us : For they are weak, and can do nothing but threaten : But this by the By : But now I think of it, I must not think much to speak more

(a) *Hab. II. 15.* (b) *Mat. VIII. 29.* *Mark I. 25.* (c) *Psal. L. 16.* (d) *Psal. XXXIX. 2.*

largely of these Matters to you; for a Remembrance of them will be safe for you. When our Lord was a Pilgrim upon Earth, the Enemy fell, and his Forces were weakened. For this Reason he, a Tyrant, though fallen, is not at rest yet; but threatens us with Words. Think of this all of ye, and despise the Devil. Were they confin'd to such Bodies as these, they might possibly say, Men lie hid, and we do not find them: But when we do find them, we make work with them. But if the Case were so with them, we might hide our selves, by shutting the Doors against them: But since 'tis not so; but their Nature, on the contrary, is such, that they can enter in even when the Door is shut, and they themselves are all over, and all about us in the Air, together with their Principal, the DESTROYER; and do always will Mischief, and are ready girt to do it; and the Devil, as our Saviour hath told us, the Father of Mischief, *is a Murderer (a)*; and we now live a Life of War against him: 'tis plain now, that notwithstanding they are embodied, they have no Strength; and therefore their Weakness cannot be imputed to the Confinement of Bodies; for no Place hinders them from laying their Snares; neither do they spare us because we are their Friends; neither are they Lovers of Good, to rectifie us: But they are rather more Wicked. And there is nothing about which they are so solicitous, as to mischief us, and all the Friends of Vertue, and of the true worship of God. But because they are able to do nothing, therefore they are continually pretending and threatening: Could they do any thing, they would not delay; but they would put their Mischief in Execution; for their Design against us is inveterate. Ye see we are here together, and speak against them in spight of their Teeth, and they do know that they are weakened by our Proficiency in Vertue. Had they Power and Authority, they would not suffer one of us Christians to live; for Piety is an Abomination to a Sinner. And having not such Power, they wound and vex themselves the more, because they cannot put their Threats in Execution: This should often be in our Thoughts, that we may not be afraid of them. Had they any Power remaining in them, they would not have come in such a Multitude, or put on such Appearances, or have transformed themselves for Stratagems sake. Were it otherwise, *the Strength* of one would have suffic'd to have done what he list. For a Wicked Being, that is invested with Power, does not kill in Effigie, or terrifie by Multitudes, but abuses his Power as he pleases: But the Devils being stript of their Power, like Actors on a Stage, shift themselves into many Shapes, which only fright Children: And therefore their Weakness should render them contemptible in our Eyes. The true Angel of whom we read *(b)*, who was sent by the

(a) John VIII. 44. *(b)* 2 Kings XIX. 35.

Lord, stood in no need of Multitudes, or outward Appearances, or Shoutings, or Clappings, but made use of his Power without Noise; and strait-way killed an Hundred and Eighty Five Thousand. Only weak Angels strive to terrifie by Phanfies.

17. But if any one here should have *Job's Case* in his Thoughts, and ask, How came the Devil to do so much against *Job*? He plum'd him of his Estate, kill'd his Children, and struck his Body with a grievous Ulcer. I answer such an one, the Devil had no Power; but God gave it him for the Trial of *Job*: Being able to effect nothing of himself, and without leave, he requested Power, and got it: And therefore the Devil is the more to be despised, because he had not Power, so much as against one righteous Person; for had he had it, he would not have requested it. His having begg'd it, not only once, but a second time, shews that he had not Power. And truly we need not wonder that he had no Power against *Job*; for he could not hurt meer Brutes, without God's Permission (a). He has no Authority, no not so much as over the Swine: For 'tis written, that they entreated the Lord, saying, *Suffer us to go into the Swine*. Now, if they have no Authority over the Swine, much less over Men, who were made after God's Image: God alone ought to be feared: As for Devils, they should be despised, not dreaded in the least. The more they level against us, the more intent let us be upon Exercise; for an upright Life, and Faith in God is a very serviceable piece of Armour against them. They are afraid of the *Fasting*, the *Prayer*, the *Vigilance*, the *Meekness*, the *Contentedness*, the *Contempt of Money and Glory*, the *Lowliness and Love of Poverty*, the *Alms and Meekness of Asceticks*; but principally, of their *Piety to Christ*. This is the reason why they make such a bustle, that there may be none to trample on them: For they are very sensible that Christians have Grace given them by our Saviour against themselves: For he himself says, *Behold, I have given you Power to tread upon Serpents and Scorpions, and every Power of the Enemy*. Whenever therefore they pretend to foretell future things, let no one presume to regard them: For sometimes they tell us of Brethren, that meet us some Days after, and accordingly we meet them. But thus they do without any Principle of Kindness to them, to whom they tell it: For they do it only to persuade them to believe them in other Matters; and having once got them in their Clutches, they at length, find an Opportunity to undo them. Therefore we must not give them the Hearing, but reject them, and tell them, We do not want to know such unnecessary Matters. Besides too, What wonder is it if they, whose Bodies are so much finer than Mens, when they have seen Persons set out upon a Journry, get before them, and give Notice of it? Has not an Horseman the same Ad-

(a) *Mat. VIII. 31.* (b) *Luke X. 19.*

vantage of one who travels on Foot? We need not therefore admire them for this: For they do not foretell of things that are not; God alone knows things before they are. To how many do these Devils run, like Thieves, before-hand, and tell them what we are now a doing, and how we are discoursing against them, before any of us depart hence, and acquaint others with it? but cannot any that runs do the same trick by one that walks gently? To make this familiar by an instance; suppose a Person begins to walk from *Thebes*, or any other Town, and the Devils, before he begins to walk, don't know that he will walk; but when they see him walking, run before-hand, and give Notice of it before he is come, and accordingly he comes at the time mention'd; Can this be call'd a Prediction? Nay, oft-times when those who began to walk return back, they deceive them. In like manner they trifle about the River-Water; for having seen many Rains fall in some Quarters of *Ægypt*, and thence conjecturing, that the River will overflow before the Water come to *Ægypt*, they run and give Notice of the Flood: Which Men might easily do if they could run so fast. They are just like *David's Spies* (a), who went up to the top, and saw a Person coming, before him that tarried below. This is to foretell things that are already upon the Anvil, instead of foretelling future Events. Thus these Spirits tell one another, such a Person is sick, or the like; only that they may deceive: Whereas, should Providence (as He can) decree any contrary Accident concerning the Waters, or the Travellers, the Devils have falsify'd, and those that minded them are deceived. Thus *the Prophecies of the Greeks* were pack'd together, and they were deceived by the Devil in former times; and, at length, a Period was put to their Deceit: For the Lord came and brought the Devils with their Subleties to nought. For they see nothing of themselves; but, like Thieves, carry away what they see from others: So that they are rather Conjecturers, than Foretellers. Let no one therefore admire them, if they speak Truth sometimes: For just so Physicians, after they have observed in others the same Diseases, by Symptoms and comparing, give Notice of them in their Patients. So also Mariners and Husbandmen observe the Temper of the Air, and, by Use, forebode that there will be a Storm, or a Calm. Now, no one says, such foretel from Divine Providence; but from Experience and Custom. Wherefore, if the Devils do so, they neither deserve Admiration, nor Attention: For, what Advantage can it be to know such things before-hand if they be true? For such Knowledge as this neither contributes to Vertue, nor good Manners. No one is judg'd for what he does not know of this kind, nor benefitted by having learn'd it: But every Man is judg'd by God and himself, whether he has

(a) 2 Kings XIII. 14.

kept the Faith, and observed his Commands: To this we should give great Attendance. Our Exercise and Contention should not be to foreknow, but to walk well-pleasing in God's Sight. And we ought to pray, not that we may foreknow, nor to request this as a Reward of our Exercise; but that our Lord may work with us towards our obtaining a Victory over the Devil.

But if we find our selves sollicitous to fore-know, [indeed] let us be pure in our Minds; for I do believe, that a Soul, in every respect, pure, and brought to its Primitive Frame, may become so discerning, as to see, by the Revelation of our Lord, both more and remoter Events too, than Devils. Just so the Soul of *Elisha* saw *Gebazi* (a), and the Hosts standing before him (b).

18. When, therefore, they come in the Night, and are willing to tell things, or say, we are good Angels, believe them not, for they lie: Or, if they praise your Exercise, or call you Happy, believe them not; neither submit so far to them as to hear them: But rather *cross your selves* and your Families, and pray together, and you shall see them vanish: For they are dastardly, and dread *the Sign of our Lords Cross*, because by that our Saviour made them bare, and publicly exposed them (c). Moreover, if they grow more and more impudent, and leap about wantonly in various Shapes, don't be afraid, or attend to them as good Spirits; for, by God's Assistance, 'twill be possible, nay easie, to *distinguish between the Presence of a good and a bad Spirit*: For, the Appearance of *Holy Spirits* is not with Disturbance and Disorder, for, *He will not strive, nor cry, neither doth any one hear their Voice* (d). But a Good Spirit visits in such a sweet and delectable manner, that Joy, and Transport, and Confidence, presently cover the Soul that is visited: For, *the Lord is with them, who is our Joy; and the Power of God the Father*. Besides too, when they visit, the Thoughts of the Soul are free from Consternation and Wavering: For the Soul, being enlightened by such a Vision, views with Ease the Spirits that appear. Furthermore, it has a certain Desire of Divine and future things seizing it, and is willing to joyn with the Spirits, and to go out with them. And if those, to whom they appear, be afraid of the Vision, they presently take away the Fear by Love, as *Gabriel* did from *Zachary* (e). As also, the Angel which appeared to the Women at the Divine Tomb (f). A Testimony of this Truth too, is that Saying of the Shepherd in the Gospel, *Be ye not afraid* (g): For the Fear of Good Men is not a Fear of Pusillanimity; but it proceeds from the Sense of the Advent of superiour Beings. So much concerning the Nature of the Vision of *Good Angels*.

(a) 2 Kings V. 25. (b) VI. 17. (c) Col. II. 15. (d) Mat. XII. 19. (e) Luke I. 13. (f) Mat. XXVIII. 5. (g) Luke XII. 10.

But the Incurſion and Appearance of *Evil Spirits*, is diſturb'd with Noiſe, and Clamour, and Brawling, like the Hurlyburly of untaught Boys, or High-way-men: whence proceeds *Timidity of Soul*, *Confuſion*, and *Ataxy of Thoughts*, *Grief*, *Hatred of Aſcetics*; *great Deſpondence*, *Tediouſneſs*, *Remembrance of Relations*, and *Fear of Death*: In ſhort, *Luſting after evil things*, *Weariſomneſs of Vertue*, and *Diſorderlineſs of Morals*. Wherefore, after you have been fright-ed with a Viſion, if your Fear be preſently taken away, and there ſucceed in the room of it a Joy unalterable, and you find within your ſelf *Chearfulneſs*, and *Confidence*, and *Refreshment*, and *Compoſedneſs of Thought*, and all the other things which I mentioned before, as *Manlyneſs*, and *Love towards God*, take Courage and pray; for Joy and Steaddiſneſs of Soul diſcovers the Holineſs of the Spirit that is preſent. Thus *Abraham* when he ſaw the Lord exulted (a). And *John*, when he heard a Voice from *Mary*, Mother of God, leap'd for Joy: But if there be Confuſion in thoſe that appear, and Noiſe from without, and Worldly Phantaſies, and Threat-nings of Death, with the other Diſorders above-mentioned, then know that 'tis the Sally of Wicked Spirits. Let this be a *Common Rule*, If the Soul be fearful, there are Enemies in fight; for they are Devils that don't take away that Fearfulneſs, as the great Arch-Angel *Gabriel* did from *Mary*, and *Zachary*, and the Angel that appeared at the Tomb from the Women: But Wicked Angels, when they ſee Men afraid, they encrease their Phantaſies, that they may dread them the more: And ſo, at laſt, they aſſault them, and jeer them, and bid them fall down and worſhip. Thus they deceived the *Gentiles*. By this Means they that were not Gods, were falſly called Gods. But our Lord has not ſuffered us to be deluded by the Devil, whom he rebuked, when he was exciting ſuch Fancies in him, *Get thee behind me Satan: for 'tis written, Thou ſhalt worſhip the Lord thy God, and Him only ſhalt thou ſerve* (b). Let therefore the crafty one be more and more deſpiſed: For what our Lord ſpoke, he ſpoke for our ſake, that the Devil, hearing the ſame Words from us, may be overturned by the Power of the Lord; who ſo rebuked them then.

19. But when we have caſt out Devils we ſhould *not vaunt*, neither when we have cured Diſeaſes ſhould we be liſted up; or admire one that caſts out Devils, or deſpiſe one that does not caſt them out: But, let every one mind every one's Diſcipline, and either imitate or emulate it, or rectifie it. For doing of Signs and Wonders is not our Buſineſs: This belongs to our Saviour. Hence he ſaith to his Diſciples, *Rejoice not becauſe the Devils are ſubject unto you; but becauſe your Names are written in Heaven* (c): For our having our Names written in Heaven is a Teſtimony of our Virtue and

(a) *John VIII. 56.* (b) *Luke IV. 8.* (c) *Luke X. 20.*

regular Life: But to cast out Devils is the pure Gift of our Saviour, who gave it. Whence we read that to those who glorying, not in their Vertue, but in Signs, said, *Lord, have we not cast out Devils in thy Name? and in thy Name done many Wonders (a)?* Our Saviour said, *Truly, I say unto you, I know you not: For the Lord knows not the ways of the Ungodly.* In short, as I said before, we should always pray for the Gift of discerning of Spirits, that, as 'tis written, we may not believe every Spirit (b).

20. I thought, indeed, now to have concluded, and been silent of what concerned my self, and to have contented my self with giving these *Memento's*. But that ye may not think I speak these things idly, but do declare them from Experience, and a Knowledge of the Truth, therefore (though I become as a Fool thereby, however, the Lord knows the Purity of my Conscience, and that I do not do it for my own sake, but out of Love to you, and to encourage you,) I will further acquaint you with some of them. As oft as they applauded me, when I, in the Name of the Lord, cursed them: When they would be fore-telling the Overflow of the River, and I asked them, What need you concern your selves about that? When once they came threatening and surrounding me, like Soldiers accoutred and hors'd; and another while fill'd the House with Wild Beasts and creeping Creatures, and I sung, *These in Chariots, and they on Horses; but we will rejoice in the Name of the Lord our God (c);* they were presently routed by the Mercy of Christ. Another time when they came and made an Appearance of Light in the Dark, and said, We are come, *Anthony*, to lend thee our Light: But I prayed, shutting my Eyes, because I disdain'd to behold their Light, presently the Light of the Ungodly was put out. A few Months after they came singing, and talking out of the Holy Scriptures; but I, as though Deaf, hearkened not to them, but prayed that I might abide unshaken in my Mind. After this they came and made a Noise, and hiss'd and danc'd; but as soon as I prayed, and lay along singing by my self, they presently began to wail and weep, as though they were spent: But I glorified God, who pluck'd down their Boldness, and expos'd their Fury. Once there came a Devil, very tall in Appearance, that dar'd to say, *I am the Power of God, and I am Providence, What wouldst thou have me bestow upon thee?* But I spit upon him, and, having nam'd the Name of Christ, endeavour'd to beat him; nay, and I seem'd to beat him; and he immediately, at the Naming of Christ, as great as he was, disappear'd with the rest of the Devils. And when he came, as I was fasting in a Monk's Habit, with Loaves in his Arms, and said, *Eat, and take some Refreshment (you toyl more than you need) otherwise you will grow weak; for you are a Man: But*

(a) *Mat. VII. 22.* (b) *1 John IV. 1.* (c) *Psal. XIX. 8.*

I observ'd his Stratagem, and rose up to Pray; which he not enduring to see, presently fail'd, and, going out of Doors, disappear'd like Smoak. As oft as he laid Gold before me to touch it, and see it, I fell to Psalmody; and then he would pine. As oft as they beat me with Stripes, I said, *Nothing shall separate me from the Love of Christ*; and after that they beat one another. However, it was not I that vanquish'd them, but the Lord, who said, *I saw Satan falling, like Lightning from Heaven* (a).

Now I, my Children, being mindful of the Apostle's Saying, apply'd this to my self, that ye may learn not to faint, nor be afraid of the Devil and his Agents. And since I have been a Fool in telling this, receive from what I have said a Spirit of Fear, and believe me; for I don't lye. Once one of them knock'd at the Door of my Cell, and when I opened it, I saw a tall Figure; and when I asked him, Who art thou? He answered, I am *Satan*: said I, What makes you be here? He answered, Why do all the Monks, and other Christians, blame me undeservedly? Why do they hourly curse me? said I, Why dost thou trouble them? said he, I don't disturb them: But they trouble themselves; for I am weak. Surely they have not read, *O thou Enemy, Destructions are come to a perpetual End; and thou hast destroyed Cities* (b). I have no longer a Place, an Arrow, or a City: There are now Christians every where; and, at last, the Desart is fill'd with Monks. Let them preserve themselves, and not curse me to no purpose. Then I admiring the Grace of the Lord, said unto him, "Thou art always a Liar, and "never speakest Truth: Thou hast spoke the Truth to me (now) "against thy Will: for Christ being come has made thee weak "and bare. After he had heard the Name of our Saviour, which scorch'd him so that he could not endure it, he disappear'd. If therefore the Devil himself owns that he is weak, 'tis our Duty always to despise him and his Agents. Thus ye see how many Wiles the Enemy, with his Hounds, has against us: But I, having learnt his Weaknesses, have shewed my Contempt of him those several ways which I have mentioned to you. Don't let us sink in our Minds, or form or entertain Fears within our selves, saying, *Lest the Devil come and overthrow us, and, of a sudden take us up, and throw us down, and put us out of Order*. Let us have none of these Thoughts, not be sorrowful, as though we were perishing: But rather let us rejoice and be glad, as being in the Number of those who shall be sav'd; and consider with our selves, that the Lord is with us, who have triumph'd over Devils, and put them to flight; and let us always think, that the Lord being with us, our Enemies can do us no harm: for they deal with us differently, according as they find us differently dispos'd; and according to the Thoughts

(a) *Luke X. 18.* (b) *Psal. IX. 7.*

which they find within us: Thus, if they find us dastardly and disturb'd, they form strange Fancies within us; just like Cut-throats and Robbers; they presently seize upon the Place which they find unguarded. Whatever we think of our selves, to that they will be sure to add; if we are dejected, they encrease our Timorousness, by injecting Fancies and Threats; and so the miserable Soul is tortured by them. But if they find us rejoicing in the Lord, and discouraging of Matters that do relate to Him, seeing the Soul fenc'd with such Thoughts, they are confounded and turn aside; because all things are in the Lord's Hand, and a Devil prevails not against a Christian. When the Enemy saw *Job* immur'd thus, he ran away from him: But when he found *Judas* destitute of these, he took him Captive. So that if we would despise the Enemy, we should always think of the things that relate to the Lord; and our Souls would be always rejoicing in Hope; and we should see all the Devils ludicrous Tricks be like Smoak, and they themselves rather flying than pursuing. For, as I told you before, they themselves are very fearful, always expecting the Fire prepared for them. Take this therefore for a *Sign* not to be afraid of them; When any Spirit appears, faint not for Fear; but be the Vision what it will, first boldly ask, *Who art thou, and Whence?* and if it be the Appearance of a Good Spirit, thou wilt presently be strengthened with *Plerophory*, and turn thy Surprise of Fear into Joy: But if it be a Diabolical Appearance, it presently fails, when it sees thy Mind strong; for thy asking, *Who, and whence art thou?* is a Sign of the Ataxy of thy Mind. Thus *Joshua* the Son of *Nave* (a) learnt by asking: and the Enemy was not conceal'd when *Daniel* ask'd.

Anthony having discours'd after this manner, they all rejoiced, insomuch, that their Love of Vertue was encreas'd, and the Negligence of some was shook off, and the Opinionativeness or Self-Conceit, and Vain-glory of others ceas'd; and all were persuaded to despise the Devil's Treachery, admiring the Grace that was given to *St. Anthony* by our Lord for his Exercise.

21. The MONASTERIES now were like so many Sacred Tabernacles, full of Divine Choirs, singing, and delighting in Holy Conferences, and Fasting, and Praying, and exulting in the Hope of future Goods, and working to give Alms, and Exercising mutual Love, and unanimous Symphony among themselves. So that you might see there, of a Truth, a Land of Piety and Righteousness by it self: For there was neither an Injurious nor an injured Person, neither any Complaint of the Oppressor: But a Multitude of Ascetics, having one and the same Ardour for Vertue; insomuch, that one among the rest of the Spectators, seeing such Monasteries, and regular Discipline, could not forbear crying out, as we read, *How*

(a) *Josh. V. 13.*

goodly are thy Dwellings, O Jacob, and thy Tabernacles, O Israel! As the shady Vales are they spread forth, and as the Parks beside the Rivers, and as the Tents which the Lord hath fix'd, and as the Cedars by the Waters side.

22. St. Anthony therefore, oft retiring himself into his Monastery, daily grew vigorous in Exercise, and groan'd, longing for Mansions in Heaven, because he long'd for them, and observ'd the frail Life of Man: When-ever he was about to eat, or drink, or sleep, or serve any other Bodily Necessities, he blush'd; for he thought upon the Dignity of his intellectual part: So that oftentimes, when he was going to eat with other Monks, and call'd to Remembrance his Spiritual Food, he refus'd, and retir'd to eat alone, thinking he should blush if he was seen Eating by them. When he eat alone, 'twas purely out of Necessity: Sometimes, though very seldom, he eat with his Brethren: But, though 'twere with Blushing, he took the Liberty to acquaint his Brethren, for their Benefit, that they should lay out their Leisure rather on their Soul, than their Body, lest it be weigh'd down by the Pleasures of the Body, which ought to be in Subjection to it. For our Saviour has said, *Take no Thought for your Life, what you shall eat; nor for your Body, what ye shall put on: Do not seek what ye may eat, nor what ye may drink, neither aim at high things; For all these things the Nations of the World seek; for your Father knows that ye need them; and all these things shall be added unto you.*

23. Not long after the Emperor Maximinus Persecuted the Church; and some Holy Martyrs being carried to Alexandria, he left his Monastery and followed them, saying to his Friends, *Let us also go and combat; or see those who do:* For he was Ambitious of Martyrdom. But, not being willing to deliver up himself, he ministr'd to the Confessors in the Mines and Prisons, and shewed great Diligence in the Court of Judicature, comforting and spurring on those that were call'd to it, and attending them till they were Crowned Martyrs. Wherefore, the Judge observing the Fearlessness and Assiduity of Anthony, and of those that were with him, ordered that no Monk should appear in the Court, nor so much as live in the City; so that all the rest seem'd to abscond that Day: But St. Anthony took this so much to thought, that he wash'd his Scapulary the cleaner the Day after, and stood foremost on an high place before the Judge's Face. And though all Persons admir'd at it, and the Governor, as he pass'd by with his Train, took Notice of it; yet he stood unmov'd, shewing the Readiness of the Christians to die: For, as I said before, he wish'd to die a Martyr, and appear'd very much griev'd because he did not. But the Lord preserv'd and reserv'd him for our Benefit, and the Advantage of many more,

that he might be a Teacher to many, by the Exercise which he learnt out of the Holy Scriptures ; for the bare sight of his Discipline inflam'd many others to imitate his Life. Wherefore, he again visited the *Confessors*, as he us'd ; and, as it were bound up together with them, he labour'd to serve them. But after *that Persecution*, in which the blessed *Bishop Peter* suffered *Martyrdom*, ceas'd, he pilgrimag'd and retir'd again to the Monastery, where he was daily a Martyr in Conscience, and fought the Combats of Faith: For there he us'd himself to much and stricter Exercise ; for he always fasted. His inner *Garment* was Hair-cloth, his upper of Leather ; which was the *Habit* he wore to his dying Day ; neither washing the Dirt off his Body, no, nor so much as his Feet, unless they were wet by chance, when he waded thorow Water on a Journey.

24. Now, when he had thus retir'd, and resolv'd to continue in that State some time, without ever going abroad, or entertaining any Company. There came to him one *Martinian*, a Colonel, who had a Daughter troubled with a *Devil*, and was very troublesome to him ; and after he had stood a long while knocking at the Door, and entreating him to come, and pray to God for his Daughter, *Anthony* would not suffer him to break open his Door ; but leaning out at the top, said, " Man, Why dost thou stand crying thus ? I am a Man as well as thou : If thou believest, pray to God, and 'tis done presently. The Colonel therefore pray'd to God with Faith, and went his way, and his daughter was cleans'd from the Devil. Many other things did our Lord by him : Wherefore we do not read in vain, *Ask, and it shall be given you*. For many that were Sick, and only sat without the Monastery, by Faith and Prayer were Cur'd. But as soon as he saw himself thus disturb'd by a great many People, and not permitted to retire, according to his Purpose and Desire, and fearing lest, from what the Lord did by him, he should be lifted up, or any one else, upon that account, should think of him beyond what he ought, he thought, and was resolved to go to the upper *Thebais*, where no body knew him ; and having took some Loaves of his Brethren, he sat down by the River Banks watching for a Vessel to get over. In the mean while came a Voice from Heaven, saying, " *Anthony*, Whither goest thou, and wherefore ? *Anthony*, without any Commotion, or Disorder of Mind, (for he was us'd to such extraordinary Occurrences) said, " Since " the Multitude will not let me be at rest here, I have a mind to " retire in the upper *Thebais* ; and so much the rather, because " they require things above my Strength. Then reply'd the Voice, " Should'st thou go thither, thou would'st have double the Trouble " to undergo : But if thou would'st be quiet, indeed, go into the

inner Wilderness. But, "Who (said *Anthony*) shall shew me the way, for I don't know it? And the Voice presently directed him to some *Sarazens* that were travelling that way. Whereupon *Anthony* made up to them, and requested to walk with them to the Wilderness. They, as it were by the Order of Providence, receiv'd him readily. By that time he had travelled with them three Nights and three Days, he came to a very high Mountain. Now, under the Mountain there was fine, clear, cool, sweet, trembling Water; and without the Plain, a few Wild Palm-Trees that had been neglected. *Anthony*, as being sent thither by God, was in Love with the Place; for this was the Place of which the Voice (that spake to him upon the Banks of the River) gave him Notice. Having at first took with him some of his Fellow-Travellers Loaves, he tarry'd alone in the Mount, no Body at all conversing with him. There he kept looking upon it as his own Home. The *Sarazens* having observ'd his *Intent* and *Proposal* to himself in Living there, designedly pass'd often that way, and gladly supply'd him with Bread. He had also a little Refreshment from the Palms.

25. And afterwards the Brethren, like Children mindful of their Father, took care to send to him. But *Anthony* considering that some were toyled upon the account of bringing him Bread, and being willing to spare the Monks that trouble, deliberated with himself how he might prevent it; and so, at last, desired those that came to him to bring him a *Spade*, and a *Mattock*, and a little *Corn*. When he was supply'd with Materials, he walk'd a little way, and having found a little piece of Arable Ground, he Till'd it; and having Plenty enough of Water to water it, he sow'd his *Grain* there; and thus, ever-after, he was supply'd with Bread enough every Year; rejoycing because he was troublesome to none, and could keep himself without being burthensome to any one. After seeing some coming to him again, he till'd some more Ground, and Planted a few *Herbs*, for the Refreshment of any tir'd Traveller. At first the Wild Beasts of the Desert came, out of pretence for Water, and damag'd his Standing-Corn. One Day, therefore, he pleasantly took hold of one of the Beasts, and said to them all, "Why do ye hurt me, since I don't hurt you? Get ye gone, in the Name of the Lord, and come no more near this Place again; and from that time they, as it were, receiving his Command, never came again: So he kept alone in the inner part of the Mountain, attending to Prayer and Exercise. But his Brethren came and ministr'd unto him; entreating him to let them come once a Month and bring him some Olives, Beans, and Oyl, because he was now grown Ancient. Whilst he lived there, how many Conflicts he under-went, (not with Flesh and Blood, but with Devils, his grand Adversaries,) we know very well from those who went to him, who heard Tumults, Voices, and Noises, like those of the trampling of Horses, and clashing of Arms, and saw the Mount full of

of

of wild Beasts in the Night, and him as it were Fighting and Praying against them: But he emboldened the Hearts of those that came to him, and strove upon Bended Knees in Prayer with the Lord. And 'tis worth our whole to consider, with Admiration, that he (though all alone in such a great Wilderness) was not afraid of the Devil's Assaulting him, nor of the Fierceness of many wild Beasts, and Creeping Creatures; but did literally (as 'tis written) *trust in the Lord, like Mount Sion*, having a Mind unmov'd, and void of Fluctuation: So that (as 'tis written) *the Devils fled, and the Wild Beasts were at Peace with him* (a). The Devil, therefore, as David sings (b), *gnashed upon him with his Teeth* when he saw him. But Anthony was comforted by our Saviour, and continued unhurt, notwithstanding all his Subtleties and Stratagems. The Devil sent all the Beasts and Snakes out of their Holes and Dens gaping upon him, and threatening to bite him. But he understanding the Device of the Enemy, said to them all, "If ye have received any Authority over me, I am ready to be devour'd by you; but if ye are suborn'd by the Devil, tarry here no longer, but get ye hence in an Instant; for I am Christ's Servant. And they fled at his Word as fast as from a Whip.

26. A few Days after that, as he was at work, (for he always took Care to labour) one standing at the Door, train'd after him with his Heels some of his plyant Twigs which he had wrought together; (for he made little Baskets, and exchang'd them with those that came to him for what they brought him) and as he stood up, he saw a Beast, down to the Thighs like a Man, but with Legs and Feet like an *Ass*. Anthony only sign'd himself with the Sign of the Cross, and said, "I am a Servant of Christ; If thou art sent hither against me, lo! I am here. But the Beast with his Devils fled so fast, that he fell and died for Haste. Now, the Death of the Beast signify'd the Overthrow of the Devils; for they did all they could to bring him out of the Wilderness, but could not prevail.

27. Soon after this he travelled with some of his Brethren Monks that came to see him, and requested him to come and live with them a little while. Now the Monks had a Camel to carry their Loaves and Water, (for that Desert was Waterless, neither was there any drinkable Water thereabouts, but by the Mount where his Monastery was, and thence they had the Water that they took with them.) Wherefore, their Water failing them whilst they were upon their Way, and the Heat being very great, their Lives were in Danger; for having search'd all the Places thereabouts, and found no Water, they were not able to walk any longer, but lay down upon the Ground, and dismiss'd the Camel to shift for it self, despairing of their own Lives. Now the Old Man seeing them all in

(a) *Job* V. 23. (b) *Psal.* XXXIV. 16.

Danger, was very much troubled, and groan'd, and having stept a little way aside and kneel'd and pray'd, the Lord presently made Water spring forth out of the Place where he had pray'd; and they all drank and reviv'd, and fill'd their Bottles, and having sought the Camel found him; for (as it happen'd) the Halter twin'd about a Stone, and held him fast; so they brought him, water'd and loaded him, and* travell'd safe to their Journey's End. And as soon as he came to the Outer Monasteries, they all came and saluted him, as a Father. And now there was Joy again in the Mountains, and a new Emulation of Proficiency and Consolation by mutual Love and Faith. It rejoyc'd *Anthony* mightily to see the Forwardness of the Monks, and his Sister grown old in Virginitie, and become a *Governess* over other Virgins. In a short time after he return'd to his own Mountain, whither many that were *Diseased* came to him.

28. He would be continually charging all the Monks that came to him, to believe in the Lord, and love Him, and to keep themselves from filthy Thoughts and carnal Pleasures, and (as 'tis written in the *Proverbs*) *not to be deceiv'd by the Fulness of the Belly*; and to avoid Vain-glory, and to pray continually, and to sing before Sleep and after Sleep, and to lay up the Precepts of the Holy Scriptures in their Breasts, and remember the Acts of the Saints, that the Soul being minded of those Precepts, may be conformed to their Zeal: But especially he advis'd them to have *St. Paul's* Saying in mind, *Let not the Sun go down upon your Wrath*; and to apply this in Common to every Precept, that the Sun may not only not go down upon their Wrath, but upon any other Sin whatsoever; for 'tis but fitting, that the Sun should not condemn us for any Wickedness in the Day, nor the Moon by Night, for any Sin or Thought. If we would be truly Beautiful, *St. Paul's* Advice must be kept, *Judge your selves: Try your selves* (a). Let, therefore, every one of you take an Account of both his Day and Night Actions; and wherein he has offended, let him leave off; and wherein he has not, let him not glory; but let him continue in that which is Good, and not be Negligent, or contemn his Neighbour; neither, *Let him justify himself till* (as the Blessed Apostle says) *the Lord come, who searcheth into the most secret things*; for we are often, even to our selves, in the dark; as to what we do we are ignorant; *But the Lord comprehends all things*. Wherefore, yielding and ascribing Judgment to him, let us, *be Patient one with another, and bear one anothers Burthens, and Judge our selves*; and wheresoever we are behind hand, let us strive to fill up our Defects. And pray let me desire you to take this Rule as a Prservative against Offending: Let all of us mark and write down all our Actions and

(a) 2 Cor. XIII. 5.

Motions, in order to declare them to one another; and ye may be confident, that if we always blush to be known, we shall forbear offending, nay, so much as thinking any ill thing; for, Who would sin a Sin for which he must presently undergo open Shame? By this Means, whoever offends can't be secret without lying. By this Means we should never fornicate, as being always in one another's Sight. But by writing and communicating our Thoughts, we shall keep from inward Impurity, through Shame of having it known. Let our Paper therefore serve us instead of the Eyes of our *Fellow-Asceticks*, that our blushing, when we write them down in order to be seen, may prevent our Lustings amiss in any Case. By keeping close to this Model of Discipline, we shall have Power to subdue the Body, and so please the Lord, and to tread the Wiles of the Enemy under Feet. This he said to all that met him. He us'd to sympathize and pray together with all Sufferers; and in many Cases the Lord heard him. When he was heard he did not boast; and when he was not heard, he did not murmur: But he always, and in all Circumstances, gave Thanks unto the Lord. He exhorted Patients to *Long-suffering*, and made them know, that *Healing* was not from him, or from Men, but of the Lord, who acts as he pleases, both as to what he does, and as to the time when he does it: Such Discourse as this was to them as a Cure, none despising his Lectures: But those whose *Illness* continu'd, learnt from him to be patient; and those that were *Cur'd*, not to give Thanks to him, but to God alone. Among others, one *Fronto*, a Courtier, (having a terrible Sicknes, which eat his Tongue, and just affected his Eyes) came in the Mount, and desir'd *Anthony* to pray for him: *St. Anthony*, at his Request, pray'd to God for *Fronto*, and bid him be gone, and he should be Healed.

29. But *Fronto* having got into his Cell by Violence, and tarrying a whole Day there, *Anthony* said, "Whilst you tarry here you can't be cur'd. Be gone, and by that time you come within Sight of *Ægypt*, you shall see a Sign wrought upon you. *St. Anthony* speaking so positively, he was satisfy'd, and went his way; and as soon as he saw *Ægypt* he was rid of his Malady, and became a Sound Man, as *Anthony* had assur'd him. There is another Remarkable Cure which I must not omit.

30. A certain Virgin of *Tripolis* had a very terrible and foul Distemper, for her Tears, and her Snor, and the running of her Ears, turn'd into *Worms* after it fell upon the Ground; besides too, she was very *Paralytical*, and had very unnatural Eyes. Her Parents having been inform'd of *St. Anthony* by some Monks that were travelling to him, and trusting in our Lord, who, as we read, *cur'd an Issue of Blood* (a), requested that she might travel with them: They

(a) *Mat. XX.*

granting her Request, the Child and her Parents went with them; and when they came, tarry'd without the Mount with *Paphnutius*, a *Confessor* and a *Monk*. The other Monks went in to *St. Anthony*, and just as they were going to acquaint him with it, he prevented them; and told them of the Child's Disease, and her travelling with them. Hearing this, they requested the Child might be permitted to enter; but *St. Anthony* deny'd their Request, and bid them go out, and they would find the Child either Heal'd or Dead: For (said he) "Healing is not an Act of mine; Why should she come to me, who am a miserable Man? To Cure is the Property of our Saviour, who exercises Mercy in every Place, over all that call upon him; and therefore has favour'd her and her Prayer, and has manifested this particular Instance of his *Philanthropy* to me, (*viz.*) that he will cure the Child's Disease there. This caus'd great Admiration amongst them; and they went out and found the Parents Rejoycing, and the Child Healthy from that time:

31. About this time, there had *Two Brethren* entred upon a Journey, and for want of Water, one dy'd upon the way; and the other was not far from dying too, and therefore, having no Strength to travel, he also lay upon the Ground, expecting to die. Now *Anthony* was sitting upon the Mount, and call'd Two Monks to him that were hard by, and said to them, "Pray take a Pitcher of Water, and run *Ægypt* Road-way; for one of two Fellow-Travellers is already dead, and the other will die too unless ye make haste; for this was discover'd to me as I was a Praying. Accordingly the Two Monks went and buried their dead Brother, and reviv'd the other, and brought him to their venerable Father, who was at the distance of a whole Day's Journey from them. If any one should ask why *Anthony* did not speak before the other dy'd? he asks an improper Question; for the Sentence of *Death* did not belong to *Anthony*, but to *God*, who determin'd *Death* for the one, and a *Recovery* by *Anthony's* *inter-Agency* for the other. That which is to be admir'd in *Anthony*, is this, That he had a Soul so stay'd and sedate, as to be shew'd things at such a distance by the Lord upon the Mount.

32. And a little after, as he was sitting again upon the Mount, he saw one lifted up on high from the Mount, and a great deal of Joy in all that met him: He could not but admire, and call the Company Blessed, and pray'd to know what that might be. Then presently came a Voice, and told him, that 'twas the Soul of *Ammun*, a Monk of *Nitria*. Now the distance between *Nitria* and that Mount is Thirteen Days Journey. The Monks seeing the Old Man (for he continu'd an Ascetick to his Old Age) in such a Maze, desired to know the reason of it. *St. Anthony* told them that *Ammun* was dead: For this Monk was very well known among them, because he often came thither, and many Miracles were done by him; of which, this is one. Having once an Occasion to go over the

the River *Lycus*, (which was a great Inundation of Waters) he desir'd *Theodore* to go at a distance from him, that they might not see one another Naked, as they swam over. Then *Theodore* withdrawing, he blush'd to see himself again Naked: And as he was blushing and solicitous, he was of a sudden convey'd to the other side. *Theodore* therefore (who also was a very Religious Man) having seen him got over, and not at all wetted with the Water, requested to know the manner of his Passage: But finding him loth to tell him, he took hold of his Feet, and protested he would not let him go before he knew. *Ammun* observing the Earnestness of *Theodore*, for the sake of his Protestation, consented to tell him, after he had engag'd him to tell no Body before he was dead; and so told him how he was carry'd over after an invisible manner, and laid on the other side: He did not walk on the Water, nor was the manner of it possible to Men, but only possible to those whom our Lord permits; as he did *St. Peter*. This *Theodore* told after *Ammun's* Death. But to return to *St. Anthony*. The Monks to whom *St. Anthony* told what he saw noted down the Day in a Book: And some Brethren that return'd from *Nitria* enquir'd about Thirty Days after, and was brought word that *Ammun* dy'd the same Day and Hour in which *Anthony* saw the Soul lifted up on high; and they greatly admir'd the Purity of *Anthony's* Soul, and wondred how he should immediately know what was done at Thirty Days distance, and how he saw the Soul carry'd up a-loft. But we have fresh Matter of Praise and Wonder from *St. Anthony* still.

33. For *Archelaus Comes* having found him praying by himself in the Outer Mount, entreated him on the Behalf of *Polycrateia*, (who was an admirable Virgin, and full of Christ) for she had a Pain in her Stomach and her Side, by reason of extreme Exercise, and was very weakly all over her Body: Wherefore *Anthony* pray'd, and *Archelaus* mark'd down the Day whereon *Anthony* pray'd; and when he return'd to *Laodicea*, he found the Virgin well; and having ask'd them what Day she was first releas'd from her Weakness, he took out the Paper in which he writ down the Time when *Anthony* pray'd for her, and immediately shew'd them the same time writ down in his Paper: So that they were all convinc'd that the Lord deliver'd her from her Pains when *Anthony* was, by Prayer, forwarding the Goodness of our Saviour towards her.

34. He did also oftentimes give Notice, many days before hand, of Persons that were coming to him: Nay, sometimes he would tell the Reason of their Journey a Month before hand; as that some came on'y to see him, others because Distempered, others because Possess'd. And this we all know of all, That none that came to him thought the Labour of his Journey a Trouble, or a Loss; for every one return'd from him with a Sense of some Benefit receiv'd: But notwithstanding he spoke and saw such strange things, yet he would not have any one admire him for it; but rather

ther to admire the Lord, who, by his Power, has granted us (tho' but Men) a Capacity and Liberty to know him.

35. Another time having went down to visit the Outer Monasteries, and been prevail'd upon, by request, to go into a Vessel and pray with the Monks; He and He only perceiv'd a wretched and terrible *Stink*; the Company said there was some salt Fish in the Vessel; but he perceiv'd another kind of Scent: And whilst he was speaking, a *Young Man that had a Devil*, and had entred in before them and hid himself, cry'd out, and the Devil was rebuk'd by *St. Anthony*, in the Name of the Lord *Jesus Christ*, and came out of him, and the Young Man was restor'd to his Wits: And then they all knew that 'twas the Devil that stunk.

36. There came to him also a Nobleman that had a Devil. Now that Devil was so terrible, that the Person that was possess'd was not so much as sensible that he came to *St. Anthony*, and ate his own Ordure. Wherefore they that brought him begg'd of *St. Anthony* to pray for him. *Anthony* commiserating him, pray'd for him, and sat up with him all Night; and the Noble Youth, on a sudden, run against *St. Anthony* and hunch'd him. Now those that came with him were very much disturb'd at it: But *Anthony* said, "Don't ye be angry with the Youth; for 'tis not he, but the evil Spirit within him: (For being rebuk'd, and commanded to post away into some waterless Places, he was enrag'd, and did this) Therefore glorifie God for his doing thus against me; for that is a Sign that he is a going out. No sooner had *Anthony* said so, but the Youth was well and himself, and knew where he was, and saluted the Old Man, giving Thanks to God.

37. Many other such like things did the Monks tell of him; and they all agreed in their Relation. But as wonderful as these things are, there are stranger things yet to be related; for, as he was going to pray before he eat, about the Ninth Hour, he was in a *Rapture*; and (which is a Paradox) as he stood up, he saw himself without himself, and some other Beings by himself, as it were in the Air; and, afterwards, some other bitter and terrible Beings standing by him in the Air too, and willing to stop him, so that he did not pass: But the Angels, his Guides and Convoys, withstanding them; they pretend to exact an Account of him, to see whether he was not liable to them. Now, they would have took the Account from his Birth: But *St. Anthony's* Guides would by no means allow of that; and told them, "That the Lord had blotted all Faults since his Birth: But ever since he became a Monk, and promis'd to God, they might exact an Account. Then they having accused him of what they could not prove, the Passage became free, and presently he saw himself, as it were come to himself, in a standing Posture, and whole again. Hereupon, having forgot to eat, he continu'd all the remaining Day and Night Groaning and Praying; for he wonder'd to see how many we fight against, and

and through how great Difficulties any Soul must needs pass through the Air. He could not but, upon this Occasion, call to mind that Saying of the Apostle, *According to the Printe of the Power of the Air* (a): for, *here 'tis* that the Enemy exerts his Power in Fighting, and attempting to stop those who pass through: for this reason he the more earnestly exhorts Christians, *Take ye the whole Armour of God, that the Enemy having no Evil thing to say of you, he may be ashamed* (b): But we, when we had been inform'd of this, remembred the Apostle: *Whether in the Body, I know not; or out of the Body, I know not: God knows.* St. Paul was wrapt up as far as the Third Heaven, and heard *unutterable Words*: But Anthony saw himself going up into the Air, and contended till he was free.

38. He had also another particular Favour: for, as he was sitting on the Mount in a praying Posture of Soul, and perhaps gravelled with some doubt relating to himself (for not long before he had been conferring with some who had been conversant with him about the State of his Soul, and what Place it should have after this Life) in the Night-time; (so that we may truly say, he was one of those Blessed Men, who *are taught of God*) one call'd to him from on high, and said, *Anthony, Rise, go forth and look*; So he went out (for he knew whom he ought to obey) and saw a certain terrible, tall, deformed Personage standing, and reaching up to the Clouds, and, as it were winged Creatures ascending, and him stretching out his Hands, and some of them he saw stop'd by him, and others flying beyond and above him, and those that pass'd them carried higher still, without the least Solicitude; upon these the tall Person gnash'd his Teeth; but over those that fell, he rejoyc'd. And the Voice said unto Anthony, Consider on what thou hast seen. And his Understanding being open'd, he perceiv'd that 'twas the *Enemy of Souls*, who envies the Faithful, and seizes on (and hinders the Passage of) those who are accountable to him; but that he is not able to seize on those who were not persuaded by him; for they get out of his reach. Being minded by such a Sight again, he strove the more to make a Proficiency in his Holy Purposes.

39. But I must do him Justice, by acquainting you, that he did not tell of these things willingly. But being he was long at his Prayers, and admiring with himself, those that were with him would be importunately asking him; so that he was forc'd, as a Father who could not hide them from his Children, to tell them: Besides too, he knew the Purity of his own Conscience, and that the Declaration of them would be profitable for them; for hereby he shewed the Blessed Fruit of Perseverance in Exercise, and that in great Difficulties God condescends to tender Consolation to his Servants, even by Visions. I might also tell you how patient he was

(a) Eph. II. 2. (c) Eph. VI. 13.

under Afflictions, and how Humble of Soul, and how that Frame of Spirit made him revere the Canons of the Church with a peculiar Tenderneſs of Diſpoſition, and how willing he was that every Clergyman ſhould be preferr'd before him; for he was not aſham'd to bow the Head before Biſhops and Priests: And whenever a Deacon came to him, to be benefited by him, he diſcours'd uſefully to him: But he would reſign the Exerciſe of the Miniſtry, by Prayer, to him, not being aſham'd to learn himſelf: For oft-times he propos'd Questions, and condeſcended to give ear to all that convers'd with him, and own'd himſelf benefited, if any one ſpoke any thing that was uſeful.

40. There was much and wonderful Comelineſs in his Face. If he was preſent with a great many Monks, and any one ſeem'd uneaſie, that he might have a full View of him, though he did not know them before, yet, paſſing by the reſt, he would run to him, as though he were drew by the Perſon's Eyes. He did not excel others in the height or breadth of his Body, but in the Conſtitution of his Morals, and the Purity of his Soul; for his Soul being free from Tumult, he always had his outward Senſes free from Diſorders; ſo that his Countenance derived Cheerfulneſs from his Soul, and the Temper of it was diſcernable from the Motions of his Body, as 'tis written, *A glad Heart makes a cheerful Countenance: But a ſorrowful one makes it ſad* (a). Thus Jacob diſcerned Laban to have ſome treacherous Deſign in his Mind, and ſaid unto the Women, *Is not the Face of your Father toward me as Yeſterday, and the Day before* (b)? Thus Samuel knew David; *For he had cheering Eyes, and Teeth white as Milk*. Thus alſo Anthony was known; for he never look'd diſturb'd, becauſe his Soul was always at Peace. His Mind was conſtantly in a rejoicing Poſture, and therefore he never had a ſouring Look. He was alſo very admirable and ſtrict as to his Faith and Piety.

41. He would never hold Correſpondence with the *Meleſian Schiſmaticks*, becauſe he knew their Wickedneſs, and Apoſtacy from the Faith; nor with the *Manichees*, nor with any other *Hereticks*, in a Friendly manner, any otherwiſe that to adviſe them to turn to Piety; for he judg'd their Friendſhip and Converſation to tend to the Miſchief and Deſtruction of the Soul. He abominated the Heresy of the *Arians*, and charg'd all not to go near them, or to hold with their wicked Tenets. Some of the *Areiomanites* having once come to ſee him; as ſoon as he perceiv'd what they were, he chas'd them out of the Mount, alledging their Diſcourſes to be worſe than Poyſon. And when the *Arians* told a Lye, (as though he were of the ſame Judgment with them) he expreſs'd great Indignation againſt *Arius*; and being ſent for by the *Biſhops*, and all the

(a) *Prov.* XV. 13. (b) *Gen.* XXXI.

Brethren, he declar'd against them in *Alexandria*, telling them that this was the last *Heresie*, and the Fore-runner of *Antichrist*; and he added, that the Son of God was not a Creature made of the things that are not, but the *invisible Word and Wisdom of the Father's Essence*. Wherefore 'tis impious to say, there was a time when he was not; for he was always the Word co-existent with the Father. Wherefore, have ye no Communication with the *Arians*; for *Light hath no Fellowship with the Darkness*: For ye, who are pious, are *Christians*; but they who impiously say, that the Son and Word of God, who is of the Father, is a Creature, differ not at all from Heathens, *who serve the Creature more than God, who created them*. But do ye believe, that all the Creation groans against them, because they reckon the Lord and Creator of all things, by whom all things that were made were made, a Creature.

42. So publickly did all the People see that Heresy which so opposes Christ anathematiz'd by this great Man, and therefore abominated them: And all of the City ran together to see *Anthony*. The *Greeks* also, and those that were called their *Priests*, came to the Temple, saying, We desire to see the *Man of God*; for all call'd him so. Also the Lord cleans'd many that were possess'd by him, and heal'd many wounded Persons, and others that were wounded in their Understandings: And many *Greeks* desir'd to touch the Old-Man, believing they should be benefited thereby. By this means there were as many *Christians* in a few Days, as us'd to be made in a whole Year. Some Persons thought the Crowd was too troublesome to him, and therefore kept Persons from pressing upon him: But he was not disturb'd with them, and said to them, "The People are not more in Number than those Devils" with which I have contend'd in the Mountain. When he went away, we went before him.

43. And as we were just at the Gate, as it were, a Woman cry'd out, "O Man of God, pray tarry a little, for my Daughter is grievously troubled with a Devil; Tarry, I pray thee, lest I also fall into some Danger, by running after thee. When the Old Man heard her, he willingly tarry'd at our Entreaty; so the Woman drew near, and the Maid fell upon the Ground, and when *Anthony* had pray'd, and mention'd *Christ*, the Maid rose up very well, for the Unclean Spirit was gone out of her; and the Maid blest'd God, and all the Spectators gave Thanks, and *St. Anthony* himself also was very glad, and return'd to his own abode in the Mount. He was also very prudent, and, which is very strange, though illiterate, he was a very piercing and judicious Man.

44. Once there came to him Two *Greek Philosophers*, with a design to try him (now, at that time, he was in the outer part of the Mountain.) *St. Anthony* perceiv'd what kind of Men they were by their Looks, and Spoke thus to them by an Interpreter, O ye Philosophers, why did you trouble your selves to come to such a simple Fellow?

But

But they reply'd, " That he was not so, but very prudent. " If ye come to a silly Fellow, said *Anthony*, your Labour is lost, and to no Purpose: But if ye think otherwise, become such as I am; for we should imitate all things that are fair and commendable. Had I come to you, I would have imitated you. Since therefore ye come to me, become such Men as I am; for I am a *Christian*. But they admiring, withdrew, for they saw the Devils dreading *Anthony*.

45. Others also met him there, thinking to scoff at him, because he had not learnt to read. Said *Anthony*, pray answer me one Question; " Which think ye is first, the *Mind*, or the *Alphabet*? " Whether of the two is the Author and Cause of the other, the *Mind* of Letters? or, Letters of the *Mind*? They answered, The *Mind* is first, and the Inventer of Letters. Well then, said *Anthony*, " Whoso has a sound *Mind*, stands in no need of Letters. Which Answer astonish'd them, and all that were with them; so they went away, admiring to see so much Understanding in a private Man; for though he grew old in the Desert, yet he was not savage in his Carriage, like a Mountaineer; but he was courteous and civil. His *Mind* and Discourse was seasoned with Divine Salt, so that none envied him; but all that visited him took delight in him.

46. After this, some Pretenders to Wisdom among the *Greeks* came to him, and demanded of him an account of his *Christian Belief*, and made Offers to dispute subtilely with him about the *Divine Cross*, in order to mock him. St. *Anthony* having paus'd a while, and pity'd their Ignorance, spoke very well to them by an Interpreter, to this Effect: " Which of the two is more laudable, to confess a Cross, or to charge those whom ye call Gods with Adulteries and Sodomies? For our Confession is a Sign of Manliness, and Contempt of Death; but yours are the Passions of Lasciviousness. Which is better to say, That the Wisdom of God was not chang'd, but for the sake of Salvation and Beneficence to Men, assum'd an Humane Body, that by Communion with the Humane Race, he might make Men partake of a Divine and Intellectual Nature; or, To liken the Deity to irrational Beings, and so worship four-footed Creatures, and creeping things, and Statues of Men? For, these are the Adorations of your Wise Men. Moreover, How dare ye deride us, who say, That Christ did appear a Man; when ye, deriving the Soul from the [Divine] Mind, say, That it wandred and lapsed from Heaven into the Body? and I wish it did not pass, not only into an Humane Body, but into four-footed and creeping Creatures. Our Faith saith, That Christ came for the Salvation of Men; but ye erring, say, The Soul is not generated. We consider the Power and *Philanthropy* of God, because this was not impossible with God; But ye sayings, That the Soul is the Image of the Mind,

N 2

" yet

" yet attribute Lapses to it, and fable it to be changeable, and by
 " consequence, introduce the Mind as changeable by the Soul;
 " for, such as was the Image, such must that of which 'tis the
 " Image necessarily be: But when ye have such Thoughts as these
 " concerning the Mind, pray consider that ye blaspheme the Fa-
 " ther of the Mind himself. And as for the Cross, What can ye
 " say of it? When ye see wicked Men ensnare us, ye see we are
 " ready to endure the Cross, and to contemn Death, whensoever
 " or wheresoever forc'd upon us. Alas! the *Fables* of the Rovings
 " of *Osiris* and *Isis*, and the *Treachery* of *Typho*, and the *Flight* of
 " *Saturn*, and *Gormandizings* of *Children*, and of *Parricide*; What
 " are these? Yet these are your wise *Contrivances* and mighty
 " *Foundations*. But, moreover, how comes it to pass, that when
 " ye despise the *Cross*, ye don't admire the *Resurrection*; since those
 " who speak of one, have also writ of the other? or, Why are ye,
 " when ye remember the Cross, silent of the *Dead* rais'd, the *Blind*
 " who had their Sight restor'd, the *Sick* of the *Palsie* who were
 " heal'd, and the *Lepers* that were cleans'd, and the *walking a Foot*
 " *on the Sea*, and other *Signs* and *Wonders*, which shew *Christ* not
 " to be meer Man, but God also? Truly, to my mind, ye do your
 " selves wrong, and have not read our Writings with Sincerity:
 " But pray read and see that the things which *Jesus* did, shew him
 " to be God, pilgrimaging upon Earth for the Souls of Men: But,
 " pray tell us of your great Signs.

47. " What can ye plead for Irrational Gods, and their Savage-
 " ness? Ye may, if ye please, fly to shelter by Allegorizing: Let
 " *Proserpine*, be the Earth; *Vulcan's Lameness*, the Fire; *Juno*, the
 " Air; *Apollo*, the Sun; *Diana*, the Moon; and *Nptune*, the Sea;
 " But, nevertheless this does not make it any more the Worship
 " of God: This is to serve the Creatures more than the Creator;
 " for ye have compacted these Stories out of the Consideration of
 " the Creation's being beautiful: These Works should be admir'd,
 " but they shou'd not have been made Gods; for, by this means,
 " ye have given the Architect's Honour to the things that he
 " Built; which is just like paying that Honour to the House, which
 " is due to the Builder; or, the mis placing the General's Honour,
 " on the Common Soldiers. Come, answer me these Questions,
 " that we may know why *Christ's Cross* should be derided: But
 " they hesitating and looking this way and that way, *St Anthony*
 " smil'd, and said, " These things are their own Proof at first sight.
 " And seeing ye lean so much on demonstrative Reasons, and
 " therefore are not willing we should worship without rational De-
 " monstration; first of all, satisfie me about these Matters, and
 " especially, How the Knowledge of God is discern'd? by Demon-
 " stration of Reasons? or by the Energy of Faith? and, which is
 " the Elder, Faith by Energy? or Demonstration by Reason? But
 " they answering, " That Faith by Energy is the Elder, and the
 " truly

“ truly exact Knowledge. Very well, said *Anthony*; for Faith
 “ springs from the Disposition of the Soul; But Logick is one of
 “ those Arts which are compos’d by the Soul: Wherefore, De-
 “ monstration is not necessary for them, who have Energy by
 “ Faith; nay, ’tis superfluous; for what we perceive by Faith, you
 “ build by Reasoning: So that oftentimes you have not Words to
 “ express what we see within. Wherefore, Energy by Faith is
 “ better and firmer than your Sophistical Syllogisms.

49. “ We Christians have not this Mystery by the Wisdom of
 “ Greek Reasonings, but by the Power of Faith, given us by Christ
 “ Jesus from God. And that ye may see what we say is true; be-
 “ hold, we, who have not so much as learnt to spell, do believe in
 “ God, known by his Works, and a Providence over all things.
 “ And that our Faith is operative within, is evident; for we are
 “ supported by Faith in Christ; but ye by Sophistical Strivings of
 “ Words. Your *Speere-Idols* are brought to nought; but our
 “ Faith is extended every where. Notwithstanding your *Syllogisms*
 “ and *Sophisms*, ye don’t persuade any from *Christianity* to *Paga-*
 “ *nism*; but we, who preach Faith in Christ, weaken your Superstiti-
 “ on; knowing very well, That Christ is *God*, and the *Son of God*. By
 “ your Oracles ye don’t hinder the spreading of Christ’s Doctrine;
 “ but by but naming Christ crucified, we chase those Devils
 “ whom ye honour as Gods; where-ever the Sign of the Cross is,
 “ there *Magick* is weak, and *Sorcery* has no Power. Tell me, Man,
 “ Where are your Oracles? Where are the Inchantments of the
 “ *Ægyptians*? When did all these cease, and vanish before the
 “ Cross of Christ was? Does this therefore deserve so much Deri-
 “ sion? or, do not rather the weak things that are brought to
 “ nought and baffled by it? This also is strange to observe; your
 “ Followers were never persecuted, but honoured by Men in the
 “ City; but Christ’s Disciples are persecuted, and yet they multi-
 “ ply and flourish more than yours. Your Tenets, tho’ celebrated
 “ and applauded, are broke; whereas the Faith and Doctrine of
 “ Christ, though derided by you, and often persecuted by Kings,
 “ has fill’d the World. When did the Knowledge of God shine so
 “ bright? or, when did Temperance and eminent Virginity appear
 “ so much? or, when was Death so despis’d, as since the Cross of
 “ Christ? But no one doubts of this when he sees the *Martyrs* de-
 “ spising Death for Christ’s sake, and whole *Churches Virgins* keep-
 “ ing their Bodies pure and undefil’d for Christs sake: Which are
 “ powerful Signs, and such as do shew that the *Christian Faith* is
 “ the only true Faith for Piety. Lo! ye, at this very moment,
 “ don’t believe, but seek *Syllogisms* from *Logick*; but we, as our
 “ Teacher speaks, *Not by the Perswasion of Wisdom in Greek Eloquence*;
 “ but by Faith (a), do effectually perswade those that were us’d to

“ the Artificial Structures of Reason. See, here are some afflicted
 “ with *Devils*, (for at that time there were some such present) do
 “ ye, by your *Syllogisms*, or *Magick*, or any other Method that you
 “ please to chuse, and by invoking your *Idols*, cleanse them, or
 “ your selves; or, if ye can’t, lay aside your Quarrel against us,
 “ be unprejudic’d, and ye shall see the *Power* of Christ’s *Cross*: And
 having said so, he invok’d the Name of Christ, and sign’d the Af-
 flicted Persons with the Sign of the Cross a second or third time,
 and the Men were presently whole, and in their right Minds, and
 gave Thanks to God; and the Philosophers were amaz’d at the Un-
 derstanding of the Man, and the Miracle which he did. But *Anthony*
 said, “ Why do ye wonder at this? We don’t do it, but
 “ Christ by those who believe in Him: Do ye therefore believe,
 “ and ye shall see that we have not an Art of Reasoning, but a
 “ Faith wrought by Love for Christ; which also ye may have; and
 “ when ye have it, ye will not seek Demonstrations of Eloquence;
 “ but then ye will reckon Faith in Christ sufficient. These were
St. Anthony’s Words; but they estranging at this went away, salu-
 ting him, and owning that they were benefited by him.

50. And now *St. Anthony’s* Fame reach’d the Ears of Kings and
 Princes; for *Constantine Augustus*, and *Constantine* and *Constans*, his
 Sons, having heard this, writ to him, as a Father, and entreated
 him that they might receive an Answer from him: But he did not
 set an high Value on their Letter, but was the same Man that he
 was before they sent to him. When the Letters were brought to
 him, he call’d the Monks, and said to them, “ Don’t wonder that
 “ the King writes to us, for he is a Man; but rather, that God has
 “ writ us a *Law*, and spoke to us by his own *Son*. Wherefore he
 was unwilling to receive them, saying, “ He knew not how to an-
 “ swer such Letters: But being warned by the Monks that they
 were *Christian Princes*, and if they were neglected might be offend-
 ed; he suffered them to be read, and sent an Answer, “ Com-
 “ mending them because they ador’d *Christ*, and advising them of
 “ Matters relating to their Salvation; as that they should not re-
 “ gard present *Grandeur*, but rather bear the future Judgment in
 “ mind; and should know and remember that Christ only is the
 “ True and Eternal King: And he also counsell’d them to be cour-
 “ teous, and to take Care of Equity and the Poor. When they
 receiv’d this Letter, they were very glad. He was so obliging to
 all, that all look’d on him as a Father.

51. After this, he return’d to the inner Monastery, and stuck to
 his former Exercise; very often, as he was sitting or walking with
 his Visitants, he was very silent, as ’tis written in *Daniel* (a), and
 after an hours pause he would discourse with the Brethren very re-

(a) *Dan.* IV. 16.

gularly: But those that were with him frequently perceiv'd some Vision. Once he told all the Affairs of *Egypt* to Bishop *Serapion*, who was sometimes within with him, and saw him engag'd with a Vision. Another time, as he was sitting, he was, as it were, in an Extasie, and frequently groan'd in the midst of his *Theory*; and, in an hours time, returning to his Friends, he first stood and pray'd trembling, and then kneelt, and continu'd so a good while; and when the Old Man rose he wept. The Company, trembling for Terror, requested to know the reason of it, and were so importunate with him, that he was forc'd to speak, after he had fetch'd a great Sigh: "Better had it been for me, if I had dy'd before I saw that Vision. Then they urging him to be particular; he said, "Wrath will seize upon this Church, and it will be betray'd to "Men who are like Brute Beasts; for I saw the *Lord's Table* encompass'd with Mules standing round about it, and Hounds barking within, and all manner of Beasts making a disorderly Noise. "Ye saw how I sigh'd. I heard a Voice, saying, *My Altar shall be abominated*. This was the Old Man's Vision. And about Two Years after there was an Incurfion of the *Arians*, and the Plundering of the Churches, when they took the Holy Vessels by Force, and made them be carried by Heathens, forcing them out of their Shops to joyn with them, and doing what they pleas'd in their Sight. Then all of us knew, that the Noise which the Mules made pre-signified to St. *Anthony* what the *Arians* now, like Wild Beasts, are a doing. But as soon as he had done saying that, he went on, and said; "My Children, don't be cast down; for as the Lord was angry, so will he again heal, and the Church will quickly again recover its Beauty, and shine as it us'd; and ye shall see the persecuted resettled, and Impiety again retreating into private Lurking-holes, and true Faith deliver'd boldly every where with great Freedom: Only, take heed not to defile yourselves with the Doctrine of the *Arians*; for their Doctrine is not that of the *Apostles*, but the Doctrine of Devils; for they are not of a right Judgment, but Barren, and Irrational, like the Brutishness of Mules.

52. "Neither should ye be Faithless, or distrust such Wonders being brought about by a Man; for 'tis our Saviour's Promise, *If ye have Faith, but as a grain of Mustard seed, and shall say to this Mountain, remove, it shall remove, and nothing shall be impossible to you* (a). And again, *Verily, verily, I say unto you, if ye shall ask any thing of the Father in my Name, he shall give it you: Ask, and ye shall receive* (b). "'Tis he that saith to his Disciples, and all that believe in him, *Heal the Sick, cast out Devils: Freely ye have received, freely do ye give*. *Anthony* did not Cure Magisterially and Self-

(a) *John XVI. 23, 24.* (b) *Mat. X. 18.*

ascribingly; but he made his Prayer to, and nam'd the Name of Christ; so that it was manifest, that it was not he himself, but the Lord working and shewing Love to Men by *Anthony*: Only Prayer and Exercise was *St. Anthony's*; for the sake of that he sat on the Mount, and rejoyc'd in the Contemplation of Divine things.

53. He was very much troubled to see himself disturb'd by so many, and when he was dragg'd to the outer Mount: For the Judges desir'd him to come down into the outer Mount, (because 'twas not possible for them to come into the inner Mount, because of the Multitude of Clients that follow'd him) entreating him that they might but just see him: But he first refus'd to come to them. However, they tarry'd, and sent some Persons that were in Custody to allure him to come upon their account. Being therefore necessitated, by Compassion, when he saw them waiting, he came to the outer Mountain. This troublesome Descent of his was not useless but very advantageous to a great many. He did good to the Judges, by minding them to prefer Equity before every thing, and to fear God, and to know, that *with what Judgement they do judge, they shall be judg'd*. Now the Judge and others urg'd him mightily to tarry there some time, and discourse concerning Matters relating to Salvation. But he having done Violence to himself, at the request of the Judge, and the Neccessitous, in coming down told them he could not tarry with them any longer, and appeas'd their Urgency with him by a pleasant *Simile*: "As Fishes die upon dry Ground, so Monks when they converse with you grow loose and feint: Wherefore we must hasten to the Mount, as Fishes to the Water, lest by tarrying without some time, we forget what is within. The Judge having heard this, and such like Sayings from him, wonder'd, and said, This Man is truly a *Servant of God*; for, Whence should such a private Person have such and so great Understanding, unless he were belov'd by God?

54. But there was a certain great Officer, Namely, *Balacius*, who bitterly persecuted us Christians, because he was bigotted for the detestable *Avians*; he was so cruel, that he strip'd the Virgins, and scourg'd the *Anachorets* naked. So *Anthony* writ him a Letter to this Effect; "I see Wrath coming upon thee, cease to persecute the Christians, lest it fall upon thee, and take hold of thee in an instant; for it will come. But *Balacius* grinn'd, scornfully flung the Letter on the Ground, and spat upon it, and abus'd the Messenger, and bid him say to *Anthony*, "Since you are so solicitous for the Monks, I will also give you your self a Visit. And before five Days expir'd, Wrath seiz'd upon him; for *Balacius* and *Nestorius*, the Under-Governor of *Aegypt*, went out together on Horseback to the chief Seat or Mannor of *Alexandria*, call'd *Charea*, (now the Horses were *Balacius's*, and the gentlest of all that he kept) and before they came to the Place, began jocularly to repartee together, as they us'd to do; and, on a sudden, the gentler of the

Two Horses, which *Nestorius* rid, bit *Balacius*, and fell upon him and mangled his Thigh with his Teeth; so he went strait way back into the City, and dy'd in three Days time. They all admir'd to see *Anthony's* Prophecy so soon fulfill'd. This was his way of admonishing the bitter and obdurate.

55. Others that came to him he instructed so excellently, that they forgot their Law Suits, and call'd those Happy that retir'd from a popular Life. He behav'd himself in the Case of the Oppress'd, as if he himself, not they were the Sufferers. He had Power enough to do good to all, insomuch, that many Soldiers and others, who had Possessions, laid aside the Burthens of Life, and presently became Monks: In short, he was, as it were, a Physician bestow'd upon *Ægypt* by God. What griev'd Person did not go back Rejoicing from him? What Person came to him Mourning for Deceas'd Relations, and did not lay by his Sorrow? What angry Person came, and was not turn'd into Love? What Poor Man, who saw and heard him, did not despise Riches, and find Consolation in his Poverty? What Negligent Man went away from him, and was not stronger and more Feruent? What Youth came to the Mount and saw *Anthony*, and did not presently deny his Pleasure, and love Sobriety? Who came to him tempted by Devils, and was not reliev'd? Who came troubled in his Thoughts, and had not his Mind made serene by him? For, this was one great Benefit of *Anthony's* Exercise, namely, that, as I said before, having the Gift of discerning of Spirits, he knew their Motions: Neither was he ignorant which way their Affection and Impetus bent. And not only he himself was not impos'd upon by them; but he also comforted those who were troubled in Mind, and instructed them how they might baffle their Wiles, explaining the Weakness and Subtleties of the Devils working in them. Every one therefore, as animated by him, departed, daring the Devices of the Devil and his Party. Virgins also who had Suiters, having only seen *St. Anthony* at a distance, continued Virgins to *Christ*. There came also some from Foreign Parts to him, who were dismiss'd from him, as from a Father, with great Benefit. When he dy'd, they were all his Orphans, comforting themselves with his bare Memory, and holding fast his Admonitions and Instructions.

56. And now 'tis but decent and fitting to acquaint you with the Nature of the End of his Life; for, indeed, 'twas such as does deserve Emulation.

Near his Death, he did (according to his old Custom) visit the Monks in the outer Mountain, and being informed, by Providence, of his End, he spake to them thus: "I make this as my last Visit to you, and shall admire if we should see one another again in this World. 'Tis time for me now to let go my Body, for I am near an Hundred and Five Years Old. At this saying they wept, clung about him, and saluted him. But he, just as it became one leaving a strange Place for his own Country, rejoyc'd, "and charg'd
" them

" them not to be negligent in Labours, nor to faint in Exercise;
 " but to live, as dying daily, and, as I said before, to keep their
 " Souls from filthy Thoughts, and to have a Zeal for the Saints;
 " but not to go a-near the *Melesian Schismatics*; for, said he,
 " ye know their wicked and prophane purpose; nor to have any
 " Correspondence with the *Arians*; for their Impiety is manifest:
 " Neither when ye see their Judges in Power be ye troubled; for
 " 'twill cease, and their Opinion and Splendor is mortal, and of
 " a short standing; wherefore, keep ye your selves pure from them,
 " and hold the Tradition of your Fathers, and principally a pious
 " Faith in our Lord Christ Jesus, whom ye have learnt in the
 " Holy Scriptures, and have often been put in mind of, even by
 " me.

57. When he had said this, the Brethren urg'd him to tarry and
 die there: But that he would not, he shew'd by his Silence, as for
 many Reasons, so especially for this: The *Ægyptians* love to bury
 the Bodies of Zealots, and especially of Martyrs, and wrap them up
 in fine Linnen. Now they don't bury them in the Earth, but lay
 them upon Couches, and keep them in Repositories by themselves,
 thinking thereby to honour the Deceas'd: But *Anthony* often be-
 sought the Bishops to warn the People against it, and also reprov'd
 many Lay Men and Women for it, saying, " That that was neither
 " Lawful nor very Holy; for the Bodies of the Patriarchs, to this
 " Day, are preserv'd in Sepulchres; nay, even the Body of our
 " Lord himself was laid in one, and a Stone was laid upon it, and
 " hid it till he rose again; whereby he shew'd them that they had
 transgressed the Law in not hiding the Bodies of the departed, al-
 though they be Holy; for what is greater or more holy than our
 Lord's Body? Many therefore afterwards buried under Ground, and
 gave Thanks to God. Now *St. Anthony* knowing the Custom of
Ægypt, and fearing lest they should do so by his Body, hasten'd his
 Departure, and took his Leave of the Monks in the outer Mount,
 and went into the inner Mount, where he us'd to live.

58. A few Months after he fell Sick, and having call'd to those
 that were with him, (for he had Two within with him, who had
 been Asceticks with him Fifteen Years, and serv'd him because of
 his extreme Old Age) he said to them, " I now (as 'tis written) go
 " the way of my Fathers, for I see my self call'd by my Lord;
 " but be ye sober, and finish a long-liv'd Exercise: Be as earnest
 " to hold fast your Purpose, as tho' you were just beginning: Ye
 " know the Devils are plotting against you: Ye know they are
 " fierce in Will, but weak in Power; don't therefore be afraid of
 " them, but breath Christ, and believe in him, and live as dying
 " every Day, taking heed to your selves, and remembering my Ex-
 " hortations: Hold no Communion with the *Schismatics*, nor the
 " *Arians*; for ye know how I declin'd them, because of their He-
 " terodox and Christ-opposing Heresie. Do ye study principally

“ to cleave unto Christ and his Saints, that after Death they may
 “ receive you, as Friends and Acquaintance, into Everlasting Ha-
 “ bitations. Think upon and relish these Counsels; and if ye have
 “ any regard for me, and do remember me, as a Father, don't
 “ suffer any one to take my Body into *Agypt*, lest they lay me in
 “ their Houses; for for that Reason I came hither: Ye know how
 “ I have rebuk'd those who did it, and charg'd them to do so no
 “ more. Do ye therefore bury my Body under Ground, and mind
 “ my Words, that no body but your selves may know where I am
 “ buried; for I shall receive my Body incorruptible from my Savi-
 “ our in the Resurrection. And pray do ye divide my Cloaths;
 “ give one Leathern Garment to Bishop *Athanasius*, and the Blanket
 “ which he gave new to me, but is now grown old; and the other
 “ Leathern Jacket to Bishop *Serapion*, and take ye the Hair-Cloth and
 “ save it, my Children, for *Anthony* passeth away, and is no longer
 “ with you.

59. Having said this he saluted them, and gather'd his Feet,
 and, as it were, seeing Friends come unto him, and rejoycing be-
 cause of them, (for he look'd with a cheerful Countenance as he lay)
 he left us, and was added unto the Fathers. So, in fine, the
 Monks wrapp'd him up, and buried him under Ground, according
 to his Command. And no Body, to this Day, except the Two
 Monks, knows where he was buried. The Vestments being distri-
 buted, according as he order'd, every one kept them as a great
 Purchase; for he that sees them, does as it were, see *Anthony*; and
 he that puts them on, carries his Admonitions about him with Joy.

60. Such was *Anthony's* Exercise, and such the End of his Life in
 the Body: And if these things are small, in comparison to his Ex-
 cellency, judge ye what sort of *Man of God* he was, who, to so
 great an Age, from his Youth up, kept close to his rigorous Disci-
 pline; neither conquer'd by Variety of Food, upon the account of
 his Old Age; nor changing the Habit of his Raiment, for want of
 Vigour; or so much as washing his Feet: And yet, in all respects,
 he was sound and unhurt; for he had his Eyes clear, seeing very
 well; not one of his Teeth was lost, only near the Gums they were
 worn, because of his great Age: He was also sound in his Hands
 and Feet, and much clearer in every part than those who use sever-
 al Diets, Bathings, and Variety of Garments; and as to Strength
 too, they were much more ready.

61. *St. Anthony* liv'd and dy'd admir'd and celebrated by all eve-
 ry where, and long'd for by those who never saw him: A great
 Sign of his Vertue, and of a Soul that truly lov'd God; for he did
 not get his Learning by Books, nor external Wisdom, nor any Art:
 But *Anthony* was renown'd purely for his Devotion to God. No one
 can deny that this was the Gift of God. How came he who was
 hid, and sat in a Mountain, to be heard of in *Spain*, *France*, *Rome*,
 and *Africa*, unless God had made his Name known every where,
 who

who promis'd this to *Anthony* at first; for although such Heroes act secretly, and are willing to lie conceal'd, yet the Lord shews them, as Lamps to all, that they may know that his Commands, which he has given to reform us, are practicable, and thence may derive a Zeal for the ways of Vertue.

62. Read ye this to others, that they may know what sort of Life the Life of *Monks* should be, and may be perswaded, that our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ will glorifie those who glorifie him, and serve him unto the End; not only bringing them to the Kingdom of Heaven, but making them, notwithstanding they hide and retire, celebrated here for their Vertue, to the Benefit of others. And, if there be a Necessity, read it to the Heathens, that they may know not only that our Lord Jesus Christ is *God*, and the *Son of God*; but that those Christians who serve him truly, and believe in him piously, reprove those *Spirits* whom they account *Gods*, and tread upon them, and chase them, as those who are the *Decays* and *Corrupters* of Men; and this they do by the Grace and Strength of Christ Jesus our Lord; *to whom be Glory for ever and ever.* Amen.

The pretended Miracles of Gregory Thaumaturgus; with the Creed that he is said to have receiv'd from John the Evangelist and the Virgin Mary; taken out of his Life written by Gregory Nyssen; as publish'd by Dr. Cave in his Lives of the Apostolical Fathers, p. 268.--281.

—THEY presently fall a meditating Revenge, confederating with a common Strumpet to put an Abuse and Affront upon him. Accordingly dress'd in a loose wanton Garb, she came to him one Day, as he was engaged in a serious and grave Discourse with some learned and peculiar Friends, impudently charging him with over-familiar Converses, relating what she thought good to affirm had either been said, or had passed between them; charging him moreover with cheating her of the Reward of their lewd Embraces. The Company, who knew him to be a Person of quite another Temper, stormed at the Boldness and Impudence of the Woman, while he, regardless of the Affront, said nothing to it, calmly desiring a Friend to give her the Money that she asked, that they might be no longer interrupted in their Discourses. But behold how ready Heaven is to vindicate the Cause of injured Innocence. The Money was no sooner paid into her Hand, but, as if acted by a furious
Dæmon,

Demon, she fell into Fits of the most wild and extravagant Madness, roaring out the most horrid Noise, throwing her self upon the Ground, pulling and tearing off her Hair, distorting her Eyes, and foaming at the Mouth, nor could she be freed from the rude treatments of the merciless *Demon*, till he whom she had wronged had forgiven her, and interceded with Heaven for her.

— *Phadimus* Bishop of *Amasea*, a neighbouring City in that Province, a Man indued with a Prophetick Spirit, had cast his Eye upon our young Philosopher, as one whose ripe Parts and Piety did more than weigh down his want of Age, and rendred him a Person fit to be a Guide of Sou's to the Place of his Nativity, whose relation to the Place would more endear the Employment to him. The Notice hereof being intimated to him, he shifted his Quarters, and as oft as sought for, fled from one Desert and solitary Shelter to another; so that the good Man by all his Arts and Industry could not lay hold of him: the one not being more earnest to find him out, than the other was vigilant to decline him. *Phadimus* at last despairing to meet with him, resolved however to go on with his Design, and being acted ἐκ μὴ τιμῆς διωτέσεσσι, by a divine and immediate impetus, betook himself to this pious Stratagem (the like Precedent probably not to be met with in the Antiquities of the Church) not regarding *Gregorius's* Absence (who was at that time no less than three Days Journey distant from him) he made his Address and Prayer to God, and having declar'd that both himself and *Gregory* were at that Moment equally seen by God, as if they were present, instead of imposition of Hands, he directed a Discourse to *St. Gregory*, wherein he set him apart to God, and constituted him Bishop of that Place, and God who steers the Hearts of Men, inclined him, how averse soever before, to accept the charge, when, probably, he had a more formal and solemn Consecration.

The Province he entred upon was difficult, the City and Parts thereabouts being wholly given to the Worship of *Demons*, and enslaved to the Observance of Diabolick Rites, there not being above Seventeen Christians in those Parts; so that he must found a Church before he could govern it; and, which was not the least Inconvenience, Heresies had spread themselves over those Countries, and he himself, tho accomplished with a sufficient Furniture of humane Learning, yet altogether unexercised in Theological Studies, and the Mysteries of Religion; For remedy whereof he is said to have had an immediate Assistance from Heaven: For while one Night he was deeply considering of these things, and discussing Matters of Faith in his own Mind, he had a Vision, wherein two august and venerable Persons [whom he understood to be *St. John* the Evangelist, and the blessed *Virgin*, by hearing the Woman exhort the Man by the Title of *John*, to discover the Mystery of Piety to her; and this *John* answer, that he would gratifie the Mother of our Lord in doing as she desired,] appeared in the

the Chamber where he was, and discoursed before him concerning those Points of Faith, which he had been before debating with himself. After whose Departure he immediately pen'd that Canon and Rule of Faith which they had declared, and which he ever after made the Standard of his Doctrine, and bequeathed as an inestimable Legacy and *depositum* to his Successors; the Tenor whereof we shall here insert.

THERE is one God, the Father of the living Word, and of the subsisting Wisdom and Power, and of him who is his Eternal Image, the perfect begetter of Him that is perfect, the Father of the Only-begotten Son. There is one Lord, the only [Son] of the only [Father] God of God, the Character and Image of the Godhead, the powerful Word, the comprehensive Wisdom, by which all things were made, and the Power that gave Being to the whole Creation, the true Son of the true Father, the Invisible of the Invisible, the Incorruptible of the Incorruptible, the Immortal of the Immortal, and the Eternal of him that is Eternal. There is one Holy Ghost, having its Subsistence of God, which appeared through the Son to Mankind, the perfect Image of the perfect Son, the Life-giving Life, the holy Fountain, the Sanctity, and the Author of Sanctification: by whom God the Father is made manifest, who is over all, and in all; and God the Son, who is thro' all. A perfect Trinity, which neither in Glory, Eternity, or Dominion is divided, or separated from it self.

To this Creed he always kept himself, the Original whereof written with his own Hand, my Author assures us was preserved in that Church in his time.

Thus incomparably furnished, he began to apply himself more directly to the Charge committed to him, in the happy Success whereof he was infinitely advantaged by a Power of working Miracles (so much talk'd of among the Ancients) bestowed upon him. As he was returning home from the Wilderness, being benighted, and overtaken with a Storm, he together with his Company, turned aside to shelter themselves in a *Gentile* Temple, famous for Oracles and Divinations, where they spent the Night in Prayers and Hymns to God. Early in the Morning came the *Gentile* Priest to pay the accustomed Devotions to the *Demons* of the Place, who had told them, it seems, that they must henceforth relinquish it by reason of him that lodged there; he made his Lustrations, and offered his Sacrifices, but all in vain, the *Demons* being deaf to all Importunities and Invocations. Whereupon he burst out into a Rage and Passion, exclaiming against the Holy Man, and threatening to complain of him to the Magistrates, and the Emperor. But when he saw him generously despising all his Threatnings, and invested with a Power of commanding *Demons* in and out at pleasure, he turned his Fury into Admiration, and intreated the Bishop as a further

ther Evidence of that Divine Authority that attended him, to bring the *Demons* once more back again into the Temple. For whose Satisfaction he is said to have torn off a piece of Paper, and therein to have written these Words, *Gregory to Satan, Enter.* Which Schedule was no sooner laid upon the Altar, and the usual Incense and Oblations made, but the *Demons* appeared again as they were wont to do. Whereby he was plainly convinced that it was an Authority superiour to all infernal Powers, and accordingly resolved to accompany him; but being unsatisfied in some Parts of the Christian Doctrine, was fully brought over, after he had seen St. Gregory confirm his Discourses by another evident Miracle; [the making a great Stone remove it self from one Place to another] whereupon he freely forsook House and Home, Friends, and Relations, and resigned up himself to the Instructions of his Divine Wisdom and Philosophy.

Early the next Morning the Doors were crowded, Persons of all Ranks, Ages, Infirmities and Distempers flocking to him, upon whom he wrought two Cures at once, healing both Soul and Body, instructing their Minds, convincing their Errors, reclaiming and reforming their Manners, and that with ease, because at the same time strengthening the infirm, curing the sick, healing the diseased, banishing *Demons* out of the possessed; Men greedily embracing the Religion he taught, while they beheld such sensible Demonstrations of its Power and Divinity before their Eyes, and heard nothing reported but what was verified by the Testimony of their own Senses. Having thus prepared a numerous Congregation, his next Care was to erect a Church where they might assemble for the publick Solemnities of Religion, which by the cheartful Contributions of some, and the industrious Labour of others, was in a little time both begun and finished. And the Foundations of it seem to have been laid upon a firmer Basis than other Buildings, seeing it out stood not only Earthquakes, frequent in those Parts, but the violent Storm of *Dioclesian's* Reign, who commanded the Churches of the Christians in all Places to be demolished; and was still standing in *Gregory Nyssen's* time, who further tells us, that when a terrible Earthquake lately happen'd in that Place, wherewith almost all the Buildings both publick and private were destroyed and ruined, this Church onely remained entire, and not the least Stone was shaken to the Ground.

St. *Gregory Nyssen* reports one more memorable Passage than the rest; which at his first coming to the Place made his Conversion of the People much more quick and easie. There was a publick Festival held in honour of one of the Gods of that Country, whereto not only the *Neo-Casareans*, but all the Inhabitants of the Neighbouring Country came in, and that in such infinite Numbers, that the Theatre was quickly full, and the Crowd so great, and the Noise so confused and loud, that the Shews could not begin, nor the solemn Rites

Rites be performed. The People hereupon universally cry'd out to the *Demons*, *Jupiter*, we beseech thee make us room. *St. Gregory* being told of this, sent them this Message, that their Prayer would be granted, and that greater room would be quickly made them, than they desired. Immediately a terrible Plague brake in upon them, that turned their Musick into Weeping, and filled all Places with Cries and dying Groans. The Distemper spread like Wild-fire, and Persons were sick and dead in a few Moments. The Temples, whither many fled in hopes of Cure, were filled with Carcasses; the Fountains and the Ditches, whither the Heat and Fervour of the Infection had led them to quench their Thirst, were dammed up with the Multitudes of those that fell into them; some of their own accord went and late among the Tombs, securing a Sepulcher to themselves, there not being living enough to perform the last Offices to the dead. The Cause of this sad Calamity being understood, that it proceeded from their rash and foolish Invocation of the *Dæmon*, they addressed themselves to the Bishop, intreating him to intercede with his God (whom they believed to be a more potent and superiour Being) in their behalf, that he would restrain that violent Distemper that raged amongst them. He did so, and the Pestilence abated, and the destroying Angel took his Leave. And the issue was, that the People generally deserted their Temples, Oracles, Sacrifices, and the idolatrous Rites of their Religion, and took Sanctuary in Christianity, as the securest Refuge, and the best way to oblige Heaven to protect them.

—It happen'd that two Brothers were at Law about a Lake, which both challenged as belonging to that part of their Inheritance their Father had left them. The Umpirage of the Case was left to him, who by all the perswasive Arts of Insinuation first endeavoured to reconcile them, and peaceably to accommodate the difference between them. But his Pains proved fruitless and ineffectual, the young Men stormed, and resolved each to maintain his Right by Force of Arms, and a Day was set when they were to try their Titles by all the Power which their Tenants of each side could bring into the Field. To prevent which the Holy Bishop went the Night before to the Place, where he continued all Night in the Exercises of Devotion, and by his Prayers to Heaven procured the Lake to be turned into a parcel of dry and solid Ground, removing thereby the bone of Contention that was between them, the remains of which Lake were shewed many Ages after. Thus also he is said to have miraculously restrained the Violence of the River *Lycus*, which coming down from the Mountains of *Armenia* with a swift rapid Torrent, and swelled by the tributary Concurrence of other Rivers, fell down into a plain champain Country, where over-swelling and sometimes breaking down its Banks, it overflowed the Country thereabouts, to the irreparable Dammage of the Inhabitants, and very often to the hazard and loss of their Lives. Un-

able

able to deal with it any other way, they apply themselves to St. Gregory to improve his Interest in Heaven, that God, who alone rules the raging of the Sea, would put a stop to it. He goes along with them to the Place, makes his Address to him, who has set a bound to the Waters, that they may not pass over, nor turn again to cover the Earth, thrusts his Staff down into the Bank, and prayed that that might be the Boundary of the insolent and raging stream, and so departed. And it took effect; the River ever after mannerly keeping within its Banks: and the Tradition adds, that the Staff it self grew up into a large spreading Tree, and was shewed to Travellers, together with the relation of the Miracle, in my Author's Days.

—In his return from *Comana* (whither he had been invited and importuned both by the Magistrates and People, to constitute a fit Person Bishop of that City) he was espied by two *Jews*, who knowing his charitable Temper, either out of Covetousness, or a Design to abuse him, agreed to put a Trick upon him. To that purpose one of them lies along upon the Ground, and feigns himself dead; the other deplores the miserable Fate of his Companion, and begs of the Holy Bishop as he passed by to give somewhat towards his Burial, who taking off his Coat that was upon him, cast it upon the Man, and went on his way. No sooner was he gone out of sight, but the *Impostor* came laughing to his Fellow, bad him rise, and let them make themselves merry with the Cheat. He called, pulled, and kicked him, but alas in vain: the comical Sport ended in a real Tragedy: the Man was dead indeed: his Breath expiring that very Moment the Garment was cast upon him: and so the Coat really served for what he intended it, as a Covering to his Burial.

—Being informed where he lay concealed, they went in vast Numbers to hunt him out, some besetting round the Foot of the Mountain, that he might not escape, others going up searched every Place till they came very near him. He perswading his Deacon to a firm Confidence of the Divine Protection, presently fell to Prayer; as the other also did by his Example, with Eyes and Hands lift up to Heaven. The Persecutors in the mean time pried into all Places, examined every Bush and Shrub, every crevice of a Rock, every Nook and Hole, but finding nothing, returned back to their Companions at the bottom, hoping that by this time he might be fallen into their Hands. And when the Informer described the very Place where he lay, they affirmed they saw nothing there but a couple of Trees a little distant from each other. The Company being gone, the Informer staid behind, and went directly to the Place, where finding them at their Devotions, and concluding their Escape to be the immediate Effect of a divine Preservation, (God having blinded their Eyes that they should not see them) fell down at the Bishop's Feet, gave up himself to be a Christian, and a Companion of his Solitudes and Dangers.

N. B. The Reasons of Suspicion as to the Pretended Miracles contain'd in these two Lives of *Anthony* and *Gregory* are these,

(1.) We have no sufficient Evidence for the Truth of the Facts. The Miracles of *Anthony* depending almost wholly upon the Authority of *Athanasius*; and those of *Gregory* on that of *Nyssen*: The former of whom has been often found guilty of Forgery; and the latter has few or no Testimonials but common Fame; and that not till more than a hundred Years after the Death of him to whom they are ascrib'd. In particular,

(2.) *Eusebius*, our most learned and most authentick Historian, who liv'd soon after *Gregory*, and gives us an account of him; and who was Contemporary with *Anthony*, says not a Word of any such Miracles at all: Nor does *Jerom* himself, *Nyssen's* Contemporary, say a Word of them.

(3.) These Pretended Miracles seem plainly to be *Party Miracles*: I mean such as were produc'd by the *Athanasians* on purpose to support their Doctrines; and visibly fitted to the same Design; as any one may easily observe on their Perusal. Nor will the several vehement Cautions of *Anthony* against the *Arians*; and the gross *Athanasian* Creed suppos'd to be brought to *Gregory* by a Vision from Heaven, suffer any observing Person to doubt of the Meaning of the same Pretended Miracles.

(4.) The strange, wild, enthusiastick Nature of many of the Miracles is so gross, that no one that compares the authentick Miracles in the Scripture, and particularly those of Christ and his Apostles, or those afterward in the three first Centuries, can easily suppose them to come from the same Original. Thus *Anthony's* frequent fighting with Dæmons in the Wilderness, in the oddest Shapes, and most uncouth Circumstances; the Dæmons stinking; his seeing a Soul carried up to Heaven, and the like; together with *Gregory's* Note sent to the Devil; with the Blessed *Virgin's* and *St. John's* Delivery of a Creed to him, and the like, are such strange, awkward, and ridiculous Miracles as shock the Faith and common Sense of all judicious Men; and are so far from adding any Confirmation to the elder Miracles, by which the Jewish and Christian Religions are established, that they afford the greatest Occasion possible to Scepticks to disbelieve them.

(5.) Our Saviour and his Apostles directly foretel that an Antichristian State should arise, which should support it self *after the working of Satan, by all such Power, and Signs, and Wonders of a Lye* (a). Now I desire to know if these monkish and awkward Miracles, which began with this *Anthony*, and have been ever since pretended to by the *Athanasians*, and the Antichristian Church, be not these *Satanical Wonders*, or *Wonders of a Lye*, (i. e.) Wonders either re-

(a) 2 *Theff.* II. 9.---12.

ally performed by wicked Spirits, or falsely pretended to be done at all; and this still for the establishing of a false Religion; If, I say, this sett of Pretended Miracles be not those referr'd to in the Scripture, I desire to know where and when those Predictions have been fulfilled. For my self, I must own, that as I think the ancient, useful, and divine Miracles in the first, and also those in a lesser degree in the second and third Centuries, do directly and undeniably confirm our common Christianity, as being real, true, and of divine Original; so do these novel, spurious, and often useless, and always either false or dæmoniacal Miracles, of which we begin to have accounts here by *Athanasius* and *Nysse*n, accidentally, and by consequence confirm the same; as being eminent Completions of those Predictions of Christ and his Apostles relating to that Matter. Nor do they, I think, therefore at all confirm, but at the bottom overturn and subvert those Doctrines; which at first sight they seem to support; as being Attestations and Marks which belong to that corrupt State which is that not of Christianity, but of Antichristianism.

(6.) Such Miracles are chiefly pretended to in the Deserts; and among the poor, unlearned, and superstitious *Monks*: who of all Men must be most easily impos'd upon and deluded by Dæmons, and by cunning Impostors; and so they generally must want that strong Attestation which a more open Performance, and more nice Examination would, if real, have afforded to them. Not that I at all intend here any Reflection on the ancients Christian *Asceticks*, or their strict, and most laborious, and devout way of living; but only on that later more lazy, and monastical, and superstitious Institution, which began with *Anthony*; and which has since so widely spread it self over the *Athanasian* and Antichristian Part of the Church, to the great Detriment of the Publick, the Reproach of Marriage, the Neglect of the Social Vertues, and the Abuse of abundance of that Charity and Alms, which might otherwise have been made great use of to the benefit of industrious poor Families, and to the Credit and Advantage of Christianity in the World.

(7.) The Doctrines hereby supported are evidently Branches of that *Athanasian* Heresy which came in in the fourth Century, and which the earlier Ages of the Gospel were almost wholly Strangers to; and by Consequence there is the greatest Reason in the World to suppose that these pretended Miracles were either utterly false, or really dæmoniacal. And I dare appeal to all those honest and impartial Readers that know the ancient Doctrines and Language of the Gospel, whether they can believe that that Creed which it is pretended St. *John* and the Blessed *Virgin* brought to *Gregory*, could possible be so early as the Council of *Nice*. Not to say that the absolute Silence about it till the Days of *Nysse*n, even at all the Councils of the Church, and *Athanasian* Disputes, and in

particular the perfect Silence of *Basil*, who was *Nyssen's* Brother, and born at *Gregory's* own City, about it, even under the greatest Occasion of its mention possible, are little less than Demonstrations that it is a Forgery. Nor would such Men as Bishop *Bull* and Dr. *Cave* for certain have ventured at all to support such an incredible and ill supported Story, had they not been conscious of the great want there was of such ancient Attestations for the *Athanasian* Hypothesis. To conclude, without farther Enlargement, I cannot but insist upon it here, that the really learned and judicious do either produce some substantial Reasons for the Belief of such Pretended Miracles, or else openly disown them, and give them up, together with their original Legendary Relaters; and confess that in such Points neither of them are of any farther Use than to shew by what wicked and knavish Methods *Athanasianism* and *Antichristianism* have been propagated in the World.

Athanasius convicted of Forgery, in his wilful Interpolating the Anathema's of the Council of Nice.
[Re-printed here and improv'd.]

THIS will appear evident when I have proved the three following Propositions in order.

(1.) That *Athanasius* does several times directly affirm, that the Council of *Nice* did, even in their solemn *Anathema's*, condemn the *Arians* for saying that our Saviour was Created; and that he put abroad Copies of those *Anathema's* with the Insertion of that Clause, as condemned by them.

(2.) That yet 'tis certain this Council did not insert the Word *Created* into those *Anathema's*; but rather, by omitting it, did directly avoid its Condemnation.

(3.) That therefore *Athanasius* was guilty of a known and wilful Falsity and Interpolation, in this important Matter; and of voluntarily propagating a notorious Forgery over the Christian World.

I shall first set down these *Anathema's* at large, from the usual Copies; and then prove the several Propositions.

Τὰς ὃ λέγοντας ἦν ποτὲ ὅτε ἐκ ἡν' καὶ πρὶν γεννηθῆναι ἐκ ἡν' καὶ ὅπ' οὗ ἐκ ὄντων ἐγένετο· ἢ ὅς ἐτέρας ὑποστάσεις, ἢ ἐσίας φάσκοντας εἶναι, [ἢ κτιστὸν,] ἢ τρεπλίδον, ἢ ἀλλοιωτὸν τ' ὑπὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, τύττες ἀναθεματίζει ἡ καθολικὴ καὶ ἀποστολικὴ ἐκκλησία.

(a) *Concil. Labb. p. 27. Socrat. Hist. Eccl. L. 1. C. 8. p. 25. & alibi passim.*

“ But

“ But for such as say, There was a Duration when he was not ;
 “ and that he was not before he was begotten; and that he was
 “ made out of nothing ; or that say, that the Son of God was of
 “ another Substance, or Essence, [*or that he was created,*] or mu-
 “ table, or changeable ; those the Catholick and Apostolick Church
 “ does anathematize.

I come now to my Propositions, and assert,

I. That *Athanasius* does several times directly affirm, that the Council of *Nice* did, even in their solemn *Anathema's*, condemn the *Arians* for saying that our Saviour was *Created*; and put abroad Copies of those *Anathema's*, with the Insertion of that Clause, as condemned by them. This appears by the following plain Passages in his Works.

(a) Πάντων τε, says he in one place, υπογεγράφαντων ὑπεγεγράφαν καὶ οἱ παρὶ Εὐσέβιον τέτοις τοῖς ῥήμασιν, οἷς αἰτιῶται νῦν ἔστω· λέγω ὅ, τῷ ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας, καὶ τῷ ὁμοουσίῳ, καὶ ὅτι μήτε κτίσμα, ἢ ποίημα, μήτε τῶν γεννητῶν εἶναι ὁ τῷ Θεῷ υἱός. i. e. “ When all had
 “ subscribed, the *Eusebians* also subscribed to those very Words
 “ which they now find fault with; I mean, that he was from the
 “ Substance of God, and that he was *Consubstantial*; and that the
 “ Son of God is not a *Being created*, or a *Being made*, or one of the
 “ Beings that were made.

(b) And elsewhere, καὶ ὃ τὸτο γεγράφαντες ἐνδὺς ἐποίησαν, τὰς δὲ λέγοντας ἔξ ἐκ ὄντων ἢ ἄν τῷ Θεῷ, ἢ κτίσιν, ἢ τρεπλόν, ἢ ποίημα, ἢ ἔξ ἐτέρας οὐσίας, τέτοις ἀναθεματίζει ἡ αἰρία καὶ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία· κ. τ. λ. “ For when they had written that, they immediately added, That the Holy and Catholick Church does anathematize those that say the Son of God was made out of nothing, or
 “ was created, or was mutable, or was a *Being made*, or was of
 “ any other Substance, &c.

(c) And again, ἀναθεματώσαντες ὅ, ὡς παρήγγειλεν ἡ σύνοδος, τὰς λέγοντας κτίσμα· κ. τ. λ. ---- διὰ τοῦτο καὶ οἱ πατέρες ἐρηκότες ὁμοούσιον εἶναι τὸν υἱόν, ἐποίησαν ἐνδὺς, τὰς δὲ λέγοντας κτίσμα, ἢ ποίημα, ἢ ἔξ ἐκ ὄντων, ἢ ἢν ποτε ὅτε ἐκ ἢν, ἀναθεματίζει ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία· κ. τ. λ. “ Let them then, as the Synod enjoined, anathematize those that say that he is a *Being created*, or a *Being made*, &c. — For on this account it was, that when the Fathers had said the Son was *Consubstantial*, they immediately added, that the Catholick Church anathematizes those that say he
 “ was a *Being Created*, or a *Being Made*; or was made out of nothing,
 “ or that there was a Duration when he was not, &c.

(a) A. D. 352. *Athanas. de Decret. Synod. Nicen.* § 3. p. 210.

(b) § 20. p. 226. (c) A. D. 368. *Ad Afr.* § 9. p. 898. *Vid.* § 5. p. 895.

This also appears, as to the Second Part of this Proposition, [*viz.* That he not only affirm'd this himself, but that he published Copies of the *Nicene Creed* and its *Anathema's*, with the Term *Created* among those that it condemned:] by those two Copies of them now extant in his Works. The (a) one is in his own and his Synod's Name, to the Emperor *Jovian*; wherein they exhort him to keep close to the *Nicene Faith*; and send him a Copy of its Creed, with its *Anathema's*; among which, in all the MSS. are these Words, *ἡ κτισθὲν*, or *that he was created*. And that it was so in the ancient MSS. also (b), there is no doubt, since *Theodoret* has the very same Words in his Copy of that Letter to *Jovian*, in all his MSS. also. The other is in the Name of the great *Eusebius*, when *Athanasius* publish'd his Letter from that Council to his Diocese (c); wherein the same Words, *ἡ κτισθὲν*, or *that he was created*, are found in all the Copies; and that it was so in the ancient MSS. there is no Reason to doubt, since both *Socrates* (d), and *Gelasius Cyzicenus*, those famous Transcribers from, and Followers of *Athanasius*, have the same Words in their Copies of that Letter of *Eusebius* also; which, as we shall see anon, they could have from no other Copy but that of *Athanasius*. For I assert,

II. That 'tis certain this Council did not insert the Word *Created* into those *Anathema's*; but rather, by omitting it, did directly avoid its Condemnation.

Now this Proposition I shall prove, by the going over all the several numerous Copies and Accounts of those *Anathema's* that have been observ'd in Antiquity, during the entire Fourth and Fifth Centuries of the Church.

(1.) We have a true Copy of (e) *Eusebius's* Letter to his Diocese, in *Theodore's*; which indeed is the only one that appears distinct from that publish'd by *Athanasius*; and in this Copy, in all the MSS. these Words are intirely wanting. Now that this Copy in *Theodoret* is the true one, and not that in *Athanasius*, *Socrates*, and *Gelasius*, we are well assured by *Eusebius's* own Testimony in all the Copies of that Letter: For,

(2.) *Eusebius* himself, in the Body of that very Letter (b), goes over the several Disputable Points which he had signed, when he signed the *Nicene Creed* and its *Anathema's*; and gives his own Church the Sense in which, and the Reasons for which he signed every one of them respectively; but not a Syllable of this Condemnation of the Term *Created*. Nor could he possibly have signed

(a) A. D. 363. Q. p. 781, 782. (b) A. D. 450. *Hist. Eccles.* l. 4. c. 3. p. 154. (c) *De Decret. Synod. Nicen. in calce* § 4. p. 240. (d) *Soc. Hist. Eccl.* l. 1. c. 8. p. 25. *Gelas. ap. Labb.* Tom. II. c. 35. p. 256. (e) A. D. 325. *Hist. Eccl.* l. 1. c. 12. p. 38. (f) A. D. 325. *Ubi supra.*

the Condemnation of that, on his own Principles; which were to keep close to the Words of Scripture, under every Article; while all Christians, I think, did then own, that the Scripture did expressly say our Saviour *was created*. Nor would the *Arian Eusebius* certainly interpolate that Council's *Anathema's*, and put in these Words, on purpose to condemn his Friends the *Arians*. So that 'tis evident, *Eusebius's* Original Letter had not those Words: Tho' 'tis as evident, that *Athanasius* has them inserted into his Copy thereof.

(3.) *Cyril of Jerusalem* (a), in his ordinary MSS. has not the *Nicene Creed* at all: But in the Two best MSS. of that Author, noted *Roe*, and *Casaubon*, he has a compleat Copy of the same; and that as including the *Anathema's* also; but so that they both intirely omit the Words before us. So that if this Creed does any way belong to *Cyril* himself, we have here a most ancient and very authentick *Eastern Attestation* against the Insertion of this Clause: But if it was added by the Transcribers afterwards, as is very probable, yet does it thence appear however, that when and where the Originals of those MSS. were written, no such Clause was own'd as a Part of the *Nicene Anathema's*.

(4.) *Hilary of Poitiers*, in his Book *Of Synods* (b), has an entire *Latin Copy* of the *Nicene Creed* and *Anathema's*, but without this Clause. And if we remember that he wrote this Book when he was in his *Asiatick Banishment*, not far from *Nice* it self, where the Council was held, we cannot but allow this to be a very authentick *Eastern Attestation* against it.

(5.) About the same time (c), *Lucifer of Cagliari* in *Sardinia* gives us the compleat *Nicene Creed*, with its *Anathema's*, but without a Syllable of the Clause in Question: and so is a valuable *Western Attestation* against it.

(6.) The Author of the Exposition of the Creed, among the Works of *Athanasius* (d), does also entirely omit the same Clause. So that in case he were really *Athanasius*, we should have his own direct Testimony against himself, as to this Matter: But tho' that be not very probable, yet it is plainly a full Testimony of a strong *Athanasian* against him herein.

(7.) *Basil* (e), Bishop of *Cesarea* in *Cappadocia*, has also two entire Copies of the *Nicene Creed*, with its *Anathema's*; but not the least mention of the present Clause; and is therefore a most authentick *Eastern Witness* against its being genuine.

(a) A. D. 345. *Catech.* V. § 8. p. 76. (b) A. D. 359. § 84. p. 391.
(c) A. D. 360. *Ad Constant.* § 84. p. 265. (d) A. D. 370. *Op. Athanas.* p. 1278, 1279. (e) A. D. 372. *Op. Tom. II. Ep.* 60. p. 836. & *Ep.* 78. p. 892.

(8.) *Epiphanius* (a), Bishop of *Salamis* in *Cyprus*, gives us two Creeds: The former very like the *Nicene Creed*, as it was afterward improved by the Council of *Constantinople*; with *Anathema's*, like the *Nicene*, at the End: The latter something like that under the last Head but one, with the like *Anathema's*; in both which this Clause is intirely omitted. So that here we have another Eminent *Eastern* Witness against it.

(9.) *Ambrose* (b), Bishop of *Milan*, has also an entire Copy of these *Nicene Anathema's*; but not a Syllable of the present Clause: Who is therefore another noted *Western* Evidence against it. Only it must be here noted, that when in the following Explication of the several *Anathema's*, he in the place of the Spurious Clause mentions the *Arians* as having falsely asserted that the Son was a Creature, but not as the other Creatures, he seems to hint at somewhat which now does not appear in any Copy. Perhaps some attempted to have procur'd the Condemnation of some such *Arian* Expression in this Place, but failed; whence a handle was taken by *Athanasius* to make this Interpolation afterward.

(10.) The unknown Author of a Work, *de Fide Orthodoxâ contra Arianos*, inserted both among *Ambrose's* and among *Nazianzen's* Works (c), begins with the *Nicene Creed*, and its *Anathema's*; but wholly omits the Clause before us.

(11.) *Rufinus* (d), the earliest of the Ecclesiastical Historians after *Eusebius*, has a compleat Copy of the *Nicene Creed*, and its *Anathema's*; but no Sign of this Clause. And so we have another *Western* Testimony that it is not genuine. Nay, we have almost another Testimony here also, that *Socrates* took it into his Copy of *Eusebius's* Letter from *Athanasius*; since *Rufinus*, from whom otherwise he must most probably have taken it, had it not himself in his Copy.

(12.) The (e) *African* Copy of this Creed, and its *Anathema's*, brought from the very Council of *Nice* it self, by *Cæcilian* then Bishop of *Carthage*, and solemnly read in a famous Council held at that Place afterward; nay, and publickly inserted into its Acts; has not a Syllable of this Clause; and so is another authentick *Western* Testimony against it. Hear the solemn Words of this Council, and the publick Manner of promulgating their original Copy of the *Nicene Creed* therein: *Aurelius Episcopus dixit; Etiam quæ dudum vestræ charitati intimavimus, nunc patimini exemplaria statutorum Nicæni Concilij, sed & quæ hic salubriter à nostris decessoribus, secundum ejusdem Concilij formam, vel quæ nunc à nobis ordinata sunt, re-*

(a) A. D. 373. *Anchorat. Op.* Tom. II. p. 123, 124. (b) A. D. 377. *De Fide Op.* Tom. II. Col. 467. (c) A. D. 377. *Ambros. Append. Col.* 345. *Nazianz. Orat.* 49. p. 727. (d) A. D. 400. *Hist. Eccles.* l. i. c. 6. p. 186. (e) A. D. 419. *Cod. Can. Afric. ap. Dionys. Exig.* p. 117. & *ap. Bevereg. Pandect.* Vol. 1. p. 513, 514.

gitari, & gestis inferi. Omne concilium dixit, Exemplaria Fidel, & Statuta Nicenæ Synodi, quæ ad nostrum Concilium per beatæ recordationis olim prædecessorem tuæ sanctitatis, qui interfuit, Cæcilianum Episcopum, adlata sunt; sed & quæ Patres, ea exempla sequentes, hic constituerunt, vel nunc communi tractatu statuimus, his gestis ecclesiasticis inserta manebunt: &c. “*Aurelius the Bishop said, permit that to* “*be now done which we formerly desir’d of your Charity; I mean,* “*that a Copy of the Decrees of the Council of Nice, as also what* “*has been here prudently ordain’d by our Predecessors, or is now* “*ordain’d by us, in Compliance with the Design of the same Council,* “*be recited, and inserted into our Acts. The whole Council* “*said; those Copies of the Creed, together with the Decrees of* “*the Nicene Synod, which were brought to our Council by Bishop* “*Cæcilian, your Holiness’s Predecessor, of Blessed Memory, who* “*was there present; as also what our Forefathers, in Imitation of* “*them, did ordain here; and what we now, after mutual Deliberation,* “*do ordain, shall be inserted into these Ecclesiastical Acts,* “*and stand there, &c.* And ’tis here to be noted, That as the *Latin Acts* themselves have not this Clause, so neither has the (a) *Greek Version* of those Acts, still extant, any Signs thereof.

(13,) (14.) At the same Council of *Carthage* (b), where the Pope of *Rome* had so early pleaded a forged Canon of the Council of *Nice* for Appeals to *Rome*, and endeavour’d to bring the *African Churches* under his Power thereby; a solemn Message was sent to two of the Patriarchal Churches of *Constantinople* and *Alexandria*, for authentick Transcripts of the Creed and Canons of the Council of *Nice*, as they appeared in their Archives. Which Churches soon return’d them such authentick Copies; and they were both found exactly to agree with their own Copy, brought from *Nice* by *Cæcilian*; and, by consequence, had not the Clause before us. So that Three of the most famous Churches of the World, who had every one of them Original Copies of the Acts of the Council of *Nice*, and among them that of *Constantinople*, very near *Nice* it self; and that of *Alexandria*, the Seat of *Athanasius*, are most plain Attestations against it. The Acts of the Second General Council, that of *Constantinople*, have no Copy of the *Nicene Creed* inserted; and so are unconcern’d in the Dispute. Only while we know that the Copy of that very Patriarchal Church where they assembled had not this Clause, there is no Reason to suppose it could have been in the Acts of that Council, had they contain’d a Copy of the *Nicene Creed*. But then,

(a) *Bevereg. Pandect. Tom. I. p. 514.* (b) *A. D. 419. Can. Dionys. p. 204. Bevereg. Pandect. Vol. I. p. 674, &c. See Geddes Miscell. at the End.*

(15.) In the Acts of the Third General Council (a), that of *Ephesus*, near the Middle of the Christian World, the *Nicene Creed*, with its *Anathema's*, is several times repeated. In all which Copies, whether in the *Greek* Originals, or *Latin* Versions, this Clause is entirely omitted.

(16.) *Sozomen*, the Ecclesiastical Historian (b), gives us an exact Account of these *Nicene Anathema's*; but has not a Syllable of the present Clause therein; and so is another very valuable *Eastern* Witness against it.

(17.) In the Acts of the Fourth General Council (c), that of *Chalcedon*, the *Nicene Creed*, with its *Anathema's*, is several times repeated: In all which Copies, whether in the *Greek* Originals, or *Latin* Version, this Clause is intirely omitted. And these Copies are the more highly remarkable, as belonging to a Council which was held in *Bithynia*, the very Country wherein the Council of *Nice* it self was celebrated.

(18.) (d) *Cyril* of *Alexandria*, the very Church of *Athanasius* himself, does also intirely omit this Clause in his Copy; and thereby secures us that it was not extant in the Records of that Church even in the Fifth Century.

(19.) (e) *Gelasius Cyzicenus* himself, that great Producer of Spurious Records, and Follower of *Athanasius*, tho' he has the Clause before us in his Spurious Copy of *Eusebius's* Letter, as *Athanasius* and *Socrates* had before him; yet when he (f) elsewhere directly sets down the *Nicene Creed* and *Anathema's* by themselves, he entirely omits it; as if even he had never met with it in any distinct Copies.

(20.) The Book ascrib'd to (g) *Jerom*, and intitled, *An Explanation of the Faith to Cyril*, begins with the *Nicene Creed*, and its *Anathema's*; but intirely omits the Clause before us.

(21.) *Vigilius Thapsitanus*, the probable Author of the *Athanasian Creed*, in his Account of a pretended Disputation of *Athanasius* and *Arius* before *Probus* as Judge, which is printed after two Editions among the (h) Spurious Works of *Athanasius*, sets down the *Nicene Creed* and *Anathema's*; but has not in either Edition any Sign of this Clause.

So that upon the whole, all the ancient Evidence, that can be suppos'd, of *Original Writers*, of *Ecclesiastical Historians*, of the *strongest Athanasians*, of *Patriarchal Churches*, of *General Councils*, of *Writers and Records* in *all Parts* of the *Christian World*, and

(a) A. D. 431. *Ap. Labb. Tom. III. Col. 672. 1183.* (b) A. D. 445. *Hist. Eccl. l. 1. c. 21. p. 435.* (c) A. D. 451. *App. Labb. Tom. IV. Col. 339, 342, 563, 285, 286.* (d) A. D. 430. *Expos. Symboli Nicen. Op. Vol. V. Part 2. p. 177.* (e) A. D. 476. (f) *Aff. Synod. Nicen. c. 26. ap. Labb. Tom. II. p. 226.* (g) *Hieronym. Op. per Erasim. Tom. IV. p. 99.* (h) A. D. 490. *Edit. Benedikt. Tom. II, p. 634. & p. 647.*

at the nearest Distance as to Time and Place; those I mean which appear not to have copied from *Athanasius* himself; do unanimously agree; that the Council of *Nice* did not *Anathematize* those that said our Saviour was *Created*.

III. *Athanasius* therefore, who affirm'd that that Council did *Anathematize* those that said our Saviour was *Created*, and who inserted that Part of their *Anathematism* into *Eusebius's* Copy to his Diocese, and into his own and his Council's Copy to *Jovian*, was guilty of a known and wilful Falsity and Interpolation in this important Matter, and of propagating a Notorious Forgery over the Christian World. For, that this Interpolation and Forgery was wilful, and done on purpose, appears, because,

(1.) *Athanasius* was present at the Council of *Nice*, and a great Manager there; and so could not but very well know what it was they condemn'd and anathematiz'd.

(2.) *Athanasius*, however, could not involuntarily insert this Clause into *Eusebius's* Letter; where 'tis plain it really was not; had he never so much believed that it was genuine in it self. This was a bold Stroke with a witness; not only himself to Impose on the Church, by his own interpolated Copy, but to make the World believe, that the Great *Eusebius* did attest to the same Interpolation, contrary to plain Fact, and the other Accounts of the same *Eusebius*, even in *Athanasius's* own Copy of that very Letter.

(3.) *Athanasius's* very Church of *Alexandria's* Copy had not this Interpolation, as we have seen. So that 'tis morally certain, that *Athanasius* was not unacquainted with the true Copy, and so as certain, that this Interpolation of his was voluntary. *Q. E. D.*

Socrates's Preface to the Second Book of his Ecclesiastical History.

Rufinus, who composed an Ecclesiastical History in the *Latin* Tongue, was much mistaken in his Chronology. For he supposed that *Athanasius's* Affairs happen'd not till after the Death of *Constantine* the Emperor. He also was ignorant of his Banishment into *Gall*; and of a great many other Passages. As for our selves, we did formerly follow *Rufinus*, and wrote the first and second Books of our History agreeable to his Sentiments; tho' as to the third Book, and as far as the seventh, some things we took out of *Rufinus*; and other things we collected from several other Writers: Nay, some things we supply'd from the verbal Accounts of several Persons still alive. However, when after some time we light upon the Writings of *Athanasius*, wherein he gives a melancholy Account of his own Sufferings, and how by the Calumnies of the *Eusebians* he

he was sent into Banishment, we concluded that we ought rather to believe him that had been the Sufferer, and those that were present when the things were done, than such as guess about them, and are thereupon deluded. Besides we light upon Copies of the Epistles of many eminent Persons, and so by all the ways we were able we retrieved the Truth. Whereupon we have been forc'd to dictate over again the first and second Books; tho' still making use at the same time of such things as *Rufinus* afforded us, where he had not receded from Truth.

N. B. Hence we may learn that *Socrates's* Testimony, where it agrees with *Athanasius*, and not with *Rufinus*, is not commonly to be suppos'd deriv'd from any other Authority than that of *Athanasius* himself: and that where it still differs from him, it must be upon considerable Evidence in the Case. Otherwise he would not for certain have ventured to contradict him.

N. B. Hence also we learn that where-ever *Sozomen*, or others follow *Socrates*, they are not commonly distinct Witnesses from him, or from *Athanasius*, but that they are to be all supposed so far as Witnesses that terminate in *Athanasius* himself only. So that since *Rufinus* is of small Authority, as well as *Philostorgius*, we have very little original authentick History of all the middle of the fourth Century after *Eusebius*, but what is ultimately deriv'd from *Athanasius*, and so must not seldom lie under strong Suspicion of such Falseness and Insincerity as he has so often been found guilty of in these Matters.

The Athanasian Historians Accounts of the first Origin of the Arian Heresy.

Rufinus's Account.

(a) A Certain Presbyter of *Alexandria*, *Arius* by Name, a Person religious rather in Shew, and out of Form, than from real Virtue; but one that was exceeding desirous of Glory, and Praise, and Novelty, began to declare some ill Notions, as to the Christian Faith, and those such as had never been brought into Disputation before. He endeavour'd to divide and separate the Son from the eternal and ineffable Substance or Nature of God the Father. Which thing was a disturbance to not a few Persons in the

Church: While *Alexander* the Bishop, one of a gentle and quiet Disposition, was desirous to draw off *Arius* from his mischievous Attempt and impious Assertions, and was not able to compass his Design, because the Contagion of his pestilent Doctrine had infected the greatest part of the People already, and was dispers'd not only at *Alexandria*, but through other Cities and Provinces also; there-upon he believed it would do harm to dissemble the Matter any longer; and so he opened it to many of his Brethren among the Bishops, &c.

Epiphanius's Account.

(a) **T**HE Spirit of the Devil entred into this *Arius*, who was a Presbyter of the before mentioned *Alexander*, and stirred him up, as the Scripture speaks, to raise a Dust in opposition to the Church: Whence no small Fire was kindled; which caught hold of almost all the Roman Empire, especially of the Eastern Parts of it: Insomuch that even to this Day the same Heresy does not leave off to fight against the true Faith and the Church. Now at that time *Arius* was a Presbyter, and in every Church there were many of his Fellow-Presbyters. For there are a great Number of Churches in *Alexandria*.—Now *Arius* was possess'd of one of these Churches. And while every one of those Presbyters taught in the usual publick Assemblies those Congregations committed to their Care, they caused Contentions to arise among the People by their Sermons.—*Arius* was an old Man, puff'd up in his own Opinion, and so err'd from the right way. He was tall of Stature; of a melancholy Aspect; of a Mien like a subtle Serpent, and capable to deceive all Minds that were simple by such his most subtle Behaviour.—For he was sweet in Discourse, persuasive, and inticing. Insomuch that he drew together from the Church into one Body no fewer than seven Hundred Virgins. Nay the Report goes that he drew away seven Presbyters, and twelve Deacons; and the Poison spread even to the very Bishops. For he perswaded *Secundus* of *Pentapolis*, and others with them to follow him. All which happened in this Church while the Blessed *Alexander* the Bishop knew nothing of the Matter; until *Meletius*, who was Archbishop of *Thebais*, and whom I formerly spake of; (for *Meletius*'s Affairs were not yet broken out into open Enmity) out of Zeal for the Faith, (for he maintained that entirely, and only differ'd about some pretended Points of Dis-

cipline; whereby yet, as we have formerly observ'd, he made great Disturbance in the World :) till the *Egyptian* Archbishop *Meletius*, I say, who was under *Alexander's* Jurisdiction, carried all to his Ears. — Aftoon then as he had given a full Account of *Arius's* Affairs, and how he was gone off from the Truth, and had corrupted and spoil'd a great many by drawing those he could persuade from the orthodox Faith, the Bishop sent for *Arius*, and asked him, whether the Reports were true or not: Upon this he made no scruple; nor shew'd any Fear; but rubbing his Forehead immediately he vomited out all his heterodox Notions; as his Epistles, and the Examination made at that time, do both shew. Wherefore *Alexander* called the College of Presbyters together, with some other Bishops that were there, and examin'd and enquir'd into his Behaviour. And when he would not submit to the Truth, he cast him out of the Church, and declar'd him excommunicated in that City; and with him were also excommunicated the fore-mentioned Virgins, and the forementioned Clergymen, with a great Multitude besides.

Socrates's Account.

(a) **A** *Alexander* on a certain day treating of the Divinity of the Son, in the Presence of his subordinate Presbyters, and the rest of his Clergy, disputed in an ambitious Manner; and philosophiz'd thus about the Trinity, and said there was an Unity in the Trinity. Now *Arius*, one of those subordinate Presbyters, a Person not unacquainted with the Art of disputing, thinking that the Bishop introduc'd the Doctrine of *Sabellius* the *Libyan*, went himself into the Opinion that was diametrically opposite to that *Libyan's* Notions, out of a Spirit of Contradiction; and, as he imagin'd, he made a notable Reply to what the Bishop had spoken, and said, if the Father begat the Son, he that was begotten had a beginning of his Existence: Whence also it is plain that there was a Duration when the Son was not; and it necessarily follows from thence, that he had his Subsistence out of nothing.

Now when he had reason'd thus, and introduc'd novel Language, he excited a great many to enquire about this Question; and a great Fire was kindled from a little Spark; and the Mischief which began from the Church of *Alexandria* ran over all *Egypt*, and *Libya*, and the Upper *Thebais*; nay, and diffus'd it self over all the rest of the

(a) *Hist. Eccles.* l. i. c. 5, 6.

Provinces, and Cities. For besides many others who supported his Doctrine, *Eusebius*, not he that was Bishop of *Cæsarea*, but he that had been Bishop of the Church of *Berytus*, and had thence crept into the Bishoprick of *Nicomedia* in *Bithynia*, was a firm Embracer of it. When *Alexander* heard and saw all this, he was all on Fire; and calling an Assembly of a great Number of Bishops, he depos'd *Arius*, and those that embraced his Notions, &c. [See *Sozomen's Account* Vol. IV. Artic. VIII. p. 198.]

Theodore's Account.

(a) **A**T this time it was that *Arius*, who was chosen into the Order of Presbyters, and intrusted with the Explication of the Divine Scriptures, seeing that the Archiepiscopal Authority was committed to *Alexander*, could not forbear to shew his Envy at it. Whereupon being stirred up by that Passion, he sought for Occasions of Quarrel and Contention. But seeing his Conduct to be very commendable, he knew not how to invent any Calumnies against him. Yet did not his Envy suffer him to be at rest. When therefore the Adversary of the Truth observ'd this Disposition of *Arius*, he disturb'd the Church, and put it all into Confusion by his Means: For he perswaded him openly to oppose the Apostolical Doctrine of *Alexander*. Now *Alexander* followed the Divine Oracles, and said, that the Son was to be equally honoured with the Father, and had the same Substance with God that begat him. [Which yet seems to disagree with *Alexander's* own Words, (b) elsewhere produc'd.] But *Arius* fought against the Truth, and called him a Creature, and a Being made; and added, that *there was a Duration when he was not*; with other Notions which may be more clearly learned out of his own Writings. Thus he spake, not only in the Church, but out of it, in other Conferences and Assemblies. He also went about from one House to another, and inveigled as many as he was able. Now *Alexander*, who was a Patron of the Apostolical Doctrines, tried at first to dissuade him by Exhortations and Advice; but when he saw that he went about like a Madman, and openly published his Impiety, he expell'd him out of the Number of the Clergy.

(a) *Hist. Eccles.* l. i. c. 2. (b) Vol. IV. Artic. VIII. p. 194.

Hints

Hints from Philostorgius the Arian Historian's Account, out of Photius's Epitome.

(a) **P***hilostorgius* the Impious says, that when the Votes for an Archbishop were likely to fall upon *Arius*, he preferr'd *Alexander* before himself; and was the Cause that they were transferr'd to him.—He also says, that one *Alexander* a Presbyter, who was next in order to *Arius*, was the first Occasion of the Quarrel between *Alexander* the Bishop, and *Arius*; and that the Preaching up the Consubstantiality did thence take its Rise.

N. B. The little Agreement there is in the Particulars of these several Accounts makes it impossible for us at this Day to have any certain Knowledge of them; any farther than the following Original Records can give it us.

*The Original Records belonging to the Rise of the Arian Heresy, and to the Council of Nice.**The Epistle of Arius to Eusebius of Nicomedia, in the beginning of his Troubles.*

To our most dearly beloved Lord, and faithful Man of God, the Orthodox Eusebius: Arius, who is unjustly persecuted by Alexander the Patriarch of Alexandria, for maintaining that Truth, which will conquer all, and whose Patron you are, sendeth Greeting.

(b) **W**HEN my Father *Ammonius* came to *Nicomedia*, I thought it proper, and indeed my Duty to salute you by him; and to give an Account to you, who have a natural Affection for, and good Disposition towards the Brethren for God's sake, and the sake of his Christ, that our Bishop does greatly disturb and persecute us, and stirs up all the Mischief that is possible against us; even to that degree as to cast us out of the City, like Persons Atheistically dis-

(a) L. I. § 3, 4. (b) *Epiphan. Hæres. LXIX. § 6. Theodorit. Hist. Eccl. l. I. c. 5.*

pos'd: And the Reason is that we don't agree with him when he says openly, God ever was, the Son ever was; the Father and the Son exist together: The Son is coexistent with God, without being begotten; he is ever begotten; begotten not made; God did not precede the Son one Thought, or one Moment. God ever was; the Son ever was. The Son sprang out of God himself. Moreover, because your Brother at *Cæsarea*, and *Theodosius*, and *Paulinus*, and *Athanasius*, and *Gregorius*, and *Aetius*, and all the Eastern Bishops say that God existed before the Son, without any Origin, they are anathematiz'd; excepting *Philogorius*, and *Hellanicus*, and *Macarius*, who are unchatechiz'd Hereticks: Some of whom say that the Son is an Emission, and others that he is an Unbegotten Prolation. Now as for such impious Persons, we can't bear to hear them; tho' the Hereticks should threaten to inflict on us ten thousand Deaths. What then is it that we say, and believe, and have taught, and do now teach? Why, that the Son is not Unbegotten, nor in any manner a part of him that is Unbegotten, and was not made of any other pre-existing Matter, but that he existed before all Time, and before the Ages, as the compleat Only-begotten God, of a Nature unalterable, and that he was not before he was begotten, or created, or decreed, or founded, for he was not Unbegotten. Nay, we are persecuted because we have said, the Son has an Origin, but God is without any Origin. Therefore it is that we are persecuted; and because we have said, he was made out of nothing. Which we said, because he was neither a part of God, nor of any pre-existing Matter: Therefore it is that we are persecuted. You know the rest. I wish you all Happiness in the Lord; and hope you will be mindful of our Afflictions: You who was Fellow Scholar with me under *Lucian*, and are, as your Name imports, eminent for true Piety.

Eusebius of Nicomedia's Epistle to Paulinus of Tyre.

To my Lord Paulinus, Eusebius sends Greeting in the Lord.

(a) **W**E have heard both of my Lord *Eusebius* [of *Cæsarea's*] Diligence, as to the true Doctrine; the Report whereof is come unto us; and also of your Silence, my Lord. Accordingly we rejoiced on account of *Eusebius's* Procedure; but are

(a) *Theodoret. Hist. Eccl. l. i. c. 6.*

troubled on your Account; because we are aware that the Silence of so great a Man as you is like a Victory gain'd over us. I must exhort you therefore to speak out; since you know how unbecoming it is for a wise Man to be of another Opinion, and to conceal the Truth, when he has once set himself to Reason about it. Do you therefore set about writing on this Subject, which will turn to your own Advantage, and to that of your Hearers; especially since you will write according to the Scripture, and follow its Footsteps, and Determinations: for we have heard that there are not two Unbegotten Beings, nor one divided into two; nor have we either learned or Believed, my Lord, that there was any corporeal Alteration in the Case; but that there is only one Unbegotten Being, and one really Made by him: not out of his Substance; and so not partaking at all of that Unbegotten Nature; or existing from his Substance, but made entirely different in Nature and Power; but with the intire Resemblance of his Disposition and Power who made him. Whose Origin we believe to be not only unutterable, but also incomprehensible by the Understanding not of Men only, but of all the superiour Creatures. Nor do we say this by depending on our own Reasoning, but by adhering to what we have learned out of the Scripture. For we have learned that he was created, and founded, and begotten, as to his Substance, and his unalterable and unspeakable Nature, and his Resemblance to him that made him; as the Lord himself says, *God created me the beginning of his ways, and founded me before the World began; and before all the Hills did he beget me.* But if he were of him, that is, out of him, as a part of him, or from the Emanation of his Substance, he could not be said any more to be *created*, or *founded*, as my Lord, you cannot be ignorant. For what is taken out of the Unbegotten Being cannot be created by another, nor by him; nor can it be founded, when it is, in its Origin, Unbegotten. But if the Word *Begotten*, which is used of him, gives a handle to any as if he was deriv'd from the Substance of his Father, and that he thence must have the same Nature, we know that the Scripture uses the Word *Begotten* not only of him, but of such things as are wholly unlike to him in their Nature. For this is said even of Man-kind, *I have begotten Sons and exalted them, but they rejected me. And, Thou hast forsaken the God that begat thee:* And elsewhere it says, *Who has begotten the drops of Dew?* as not denoting the Nature of any thing, derived from its Author's Nature, but the Origin of every one of them, by his Will. For there is nothing derived from his Substance; but all things are made by his Will; and every thing exists as it was made. For he certainly is God; but they, with a Resemblance to him, are to be like to his Word, and made voluntarily; while all things are made by him as the Instrument, and by God as the original Cause; and all is derived from God. Which Notions if you embrace, do you enlarge upon them according to the

Grace

Grace which is given you from God, and set about writing to my Lord *Alexander*. For I believe that if you will write to him, you will persuade him. Salute all the Brethren in the Lord. May the Divine Grace, my Lord, preserve you in Health. Pray for us.

Alexander Bishop of Alexandria's Letter to Alexander Bishop of Constantinople, before the Council of Nice. Out of Theodorit. Hist. Eccl. l. I. c. IV.

To my most dear and honoured Brother, Alexander, All Health in the Lord.

THE Ambition and Avarice of wicked Men are ever dispos'd to lay Snares for the greater Churches; while under various Pretences such Men oppose the establish'd Religion of the Church. For when they are excited by the Devil, who operates in them, to obtain those Pleasures that are set before them, they cast off all Sense of Religion, and tramp'e upon all the Apprehensions of the Divine Justice. As to which Danger, I who am a Sufferer am oblig'd to give your Piety Warning; that you may observe such Men, lest any one of them should venture to make their Attempts on your Parishes, either by themselves, or by others. For these mischievous Persons are able to play the Hypocrite in order to deceive Men; and by lying Letters fram'd after a wily manner, to carry away with them such as content themselves with a plain and sincere Faith. You are to know then, that *Arius* and *Achillas* have conspir'd together lately to affect Dominion more than ever *Colluthus* did. For as to *Colluthus*, who blames these Mens Conduct, he does however hence get a Plea for his own wicked Designs. But as for these they by observing the base Gain which the other makes by Christianity, have hardened themselves so far that they will not any longer submit to the Church. Nay, they build for themselves *Dens of Thieves*, and hold their Assemblies therein, and exercise themselves Day and Night in Calumnies rais'd against Christ and against us: They also lay Imputations upon every apostolical and pious Doctrine, and so have collected a Shop full of Weapons, after the manner of the *Jews*, to fight against Christ withal. I mean this of their Denial of our Saviour's Divinity; and their open Doctrine that he is no more than equal to all other Creatures. For by selecting those Texts which speak of the intire Dispensation of our Salvation by him, and of his humbling himself for us, they endeavour to support their impious Doctrine, and are utterly averse from those Texts which speak of his original Divinity, and that unspeakable Glory which he then had with the Father. Wherefore these Men add Strength to the Opinion which the *Gentiles* as well

as *Jews* have of *Christ*; and have the greatest *Regard* to their *Com-
mendations*; as indeed they encourage them in all those things
wherein they are used to laugh at us. Nay farther, they stir up *Se-
ditions* and *Persecutions* every Day against us; partly by informing
the Judges against us, by the means of some disorderly Women,
who have been seduced by them; and partly by suffering their
younger Women to run gadding about through all the Streets inde-
cently, and thereby casting a *Reproach* on Christianity. And truly
these Men are so bold as to rent the seamless Coat of *Christ*, which
the very Soldiers, appointed for his Execution, were not willing to
divide. Whereupon we have done what was fit in the Case of
Men of such Lives, and such wicked Conduct; tho' it was long be-
fore we set about it; on account of their clandestine Management;
which hindred us from being sooner informed of the Matter; and
by universal Consent we have banished them from the Church of all
those that adore the Divinity of our Saviour. And now they travel
about to oppose us, and aim to supplant us with our Fellow-
Bishops, by pretending to Peace, and hypocritically petitioning for
Unity; while in reality they labour to seduce them to their own
dangerous Notions, by their plausible Pretences. They do also de-
sire long Letters from them in order to read them to such as they
have perverted, and so may put them out of the Possibility of re-
penting, as hardened in their Impiety, by shewing them that the
Bishops are of their Opinion. Yet do they not own to them how
wickedly they have spoken and acted here; on account whereof
they have been excommunicated; but in that case they either pass
over such things in Silence; or with cunning Words and Writings
of theirs they conceal the perniciousness of their deceitful Doctrines.
And indeed by plausible Language and Flatteries they hide their
pestilent Doctrines, and hurry along with them into Error those
that are most liable to such Temptations. Nor do they abstain
from the open calumniating of our Piety. From which Methods it is
come to pass that some subscribe to their Writings, and receive
them to Communion. Which Procedure yet is, I suppose, liable
to very bad Imputations in those our Fellow Bishops that venture to
do so; not only because the Apostolical Canon does not allow of
such a thing; but also because their Diabolical Attempt against
Christ is thereby encouraged. Whereupon I have made no longer
delay, my Beloved, but have resolved with my self to give you an
account of the Infidelity of these Men, who affirm that, *There was
a Duration when the Son of God was not: He was afterwards made
who formerly was not; and was made such an one as every Man is by
Nature, whensoever he was made.* For God, say they, made all
things out of nothing; and they include the Son of God among the
System of Creatures rational and irrational. Agreeably to which
Doctrine they farther affirm that he is of a mutable Nature, capable
of both Vertue and Vice. And by this their Hypothesis of his
Derivation

Derivation out of nothing they take away those Texts of divine Scripture which assure us he *ever was*, and which declare the immutable Nature of the Word, and the Divinity of that Wisdom and Word which are no other than Christ. We may our selves, say these pestilent Fellows, become the Sons of God as he is. For it is written, *I have begotten and advanced Sons*. And when the following Expression is used against them, *And they have rebelled against me*, which cannot agree to the Nature of Christ, which is immutable, they cast off all regard to Religion, and pretend that God chose him out of all the rest, as foreknowing, by his Prescience concerning him, that he would not rebel against him; but that it was not on the account that his Nature had any thing peculiar above other Beings; for say they, no one is the Son of God by Nature; nor on the account that he had any proper relation to him, but on the account that while he was of a mutable Nature, he took such care, and lead such a strict Course of Life; and yielded not to any Temptations, that God made choice of him. And that if *Paul* or *Peter* had endeavoured their utmost after the same Perfection, they might have been the Sons of God as well as he. Now in order to the Confirmation of this pernicious Doctrine of theirs, they are so mad as to alledge the Words of Scripture in the *Psalms*, which say of Christ, *Thou hast loved Righteousness and hated Iniquity: Wherefore thy God hath anointed thee with the Oil of Gladness above thy Fellows*. But then that the Son of God was not made out of nothing; and that there was not any Duration when he was not, the Evangelist *John* will sufficiently instruct us, when he writes thus concerning him; *The Only-begotten Son, who is in the Bosom of the Father*. For when that divine Teacher had a mind to shew that the Father and Son were two Beings, inseparable from one another, he named him one that was *in the Bosom of the Father*. And besides, that the Word of God is not to be reckon'd among the Beings that were made out of nothing, the same *John* says, that *all things were made by him*. For he declar'd the peculiar manner of his Subsistence when he said, *In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. All things were made by him; and without him was not any thing made*. For if all things were made by him, how could it be that he who gave Being to the things that were made did once not himself exist? For it cannot be at all supposed that the Word which was the Maker should be of the same Nature with the Beings which were made, seeing he existed in the very beginning; while all things were made by him; and that he made them out of nothing: for what exists, seems to be contrary to and widely remote from those things which were made out of nothing. For the former Expression implies that there is no Interval of Time between the Father and the Son; the Soul being not able to admit such a Notion even into its Imagination: While the Creation of the World out of nothing im-

plies a late, and recent Original of Existence; and all those Creatures receiv'd such their Existence from the Father, as the Origin, by the Son, as the Instrument. *John* therefore, the most religious Apostle, considered that there was a great Difference between the real Existence of God the Word, and that it was beyond the Conception of the other begotten [or made] Beings, when he was not willing to use the Words a *Being begotten* or a *Being made*; nor durst he ascribe the same Name in the same Words and Syllables to him that made things, and to those things that were made. Not that he was Unbegotten; for there is but one Unbegotten Being, even the Father; but that the Subsistence of the Only-begotten God is ineffable, and beyond the exactest Comprehension of the Evangelists; nay perhaps of Angels themselves. Nor indeed do I think that he is to be reckon'd among Religious Persons who will venture to ask such high Questions; because he is disobedient to that Rule which says, *Seek not what is too hard for thee; and do not examine into what is too high for thee.* For if the Knowledge of many other things, and those incomparably lower than these, be hid from humane Understanding, such as those intimated by *Paul*, *What things Eye hath not seen, nor Ear heard, nor have they come into the Heart of Man, even those God has prepared for them that love him*: And even such as those *Stars* which God assures *Abraham*, cannot be numbred; and besides, that *Sand of the Sea*, and those *Drops of Rain*, of which he says, *Who can number them.* How can any one that is not distracted trouble himself with such a needless Curiosity, as is that about the Subsistence of God the Word? Concerning which the prophetick Spirit says, *Who shall declare his Generation?* Nay, our Saviour himself, who was so beneficent towards the Pillars of all the World, endeavour'd yet to remove the Comprehension of these Points from them, as a Burden too hard for them; by telling them that it was beyond the intire Power of Nature to comprehend them; and that the Knowledge of this most divine Mystery was reserved to the Father only, when he says, *For no one knoweth who the Son is but the Father; and no one knoweth the Father but the Son.* Concerning which Point also does, I suppose, the Father speak, when he says, *My Secret is to my self, and to those that are with me.* But now, 'tis a piece of Madness to imagine that the Son was made out of nothing, and so had a temporal Procession, appears from their own very Words *out of nothing*; altho' they are so foolish as not to be sensible of their own Madness. For either the Words *he was not* must belong to Time, or to some Interval of the Ages. If therefore it be true that *All things were made by him*, I mean, if all the Ages, and all Time, and Intervals of Duration, and that very *once* wherein this Non-existence is to be plac'd were made by him, how can it thence be other than incredible and absurd to say, that he who made the Times, and the Ages, and the Seasons wherein this *He was not* is included, once was not? For 'tis against com-

mon Sense and most injudicious to affirm that any Being which is the Author of another Being should be later as to its Existence than the Origin of that other Being. For that Interval wherein they say the Son of the Father was not, must, according to them, precede that Wisdom of God which created the Universe; and they give the Lye to that Text of Scripture which calls him, *The First-born of the whole Creation*. Now what Paul with great Emphasis speaks is agreeable to this, when he says of him, *Whom he hath appointed the Heir of all things; by whom also he made the Ages*. And besides, *In [or by] him were all things created, both things in Heaven, and things on Earth, visible, and invisible; whether they be Principalities, or Powers, or Dominions, or Thrones; all things were created by him, and for him; and he is before all things*. Since therefore this Hypothesis of his Derivation out of nothing appears to be most impious, it follows of Necessity that the Father was *always* a Father. For he is *always* a Father when that Son is present with him on whose account he has the Name of Father. Now if the Son be *ever* present with him, he is *ever* a perfect Father, and deficient in no good Property; but begetting his Only-begotten Son, not in time, nor after an Interval, nor out of nothing. And indeed is it not impious to say that that Wisdom of God once was not which said, *I was with him suiting things together? I was that wherein he rejoiced?* or that the Power of God once was not, or that his Word was once mutilated, and the like as to those other Attributes whereby the Son is discovered, and the Father characteriz'd? For to say that the Efflux of Glory once was not, takes away the Existence of the original Light whence it flows. And if the Image of God was not always, 'tis evident neither was that whose Image it is always. Moreover, if the Character of the Person of God once was not, he also whose Character he always bears is at the same time taken away. By which Arguments we learn that the Filiation of our Saviour has nothing common with the Filiation of the other Beings. For as his ineffable Subsistence has been shew'd to be after an incomparable Manner superiour to all those on whom he bestowed Being, so is it as to his Filiation: For this being agreeable to the Nature of his Father's Divinity is in an unspeakable manner superiour to that which belongs to his Sons by Adoption. For he is of an immutable Nature, perfect, and in all respects wanting of nothing. While they who are liable to be changed to Vice or Vertue, want his Assistance. For what Proficiency can the Wisdom of God make? or what Augmentation can the real Truth of God the Word receive? or how can Life or the true Light be made better? Which things, if they be granted, how much more unnatural is it to suppose that Wisdom can ever be susceptible of Folly; or the Power of God to be conjoined with Imbecillity; or his Word [or Reason] to be obscur'd by Absurdity? or Darkness to be mingled with the true Light? when the very Apo-

He expressly says, *What Communion hath Light with Darkness, or, What Fellowship hath Christ with Belial?* And when Solomon says that it must be impossible, even in our Conception, that *the ways of a Serpent on a Rock*, should be found out? which *Rock is Christ*, according to *Paul*. But then, as to Men and Angels, which are his Creatures, they have received Grace to grow better by exercising themselves in Vertue, and the Precepts of the Law, that they may not sin. Wherefore our Lord, who is by Nature the Son of the Father, is adored by all; but the others when they lay aside the *Spirit of Bondage by receiving the Spirit of Adoption*, upon their doing good to Men, and their Proficiency in Vertue, through the Kindness of him that is the Son by Nature become themselves the *Sons of God*. Accordingly *Paul* does declare his proper, and peculiar, and natural, and supereminent Sonship in these Words, speaking of God, *Who spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us*: That is for us who were not his Sons by Nature. For he says that he was his *own Son* by way of distinction from those Sons that are not peculiarly *his own*. And in the Gospel, *This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased*. And our saviour says in the *Psalms*, *The Lord said unto me, thou art my Son*: declaring thereby that he was his proper Son, and signifying that there were no other proper Sons besides him. And as to that Text, *I begat thee from the Womb, before the Morning-Star*, does it not denote his Birth from his Father, and his natural Sonship, and that he obtained it, not by the exactness of his course of Life, or his Proficiency by long Practice, but by the peculiar Privilege of his Nature? Whence the Only-begotten Son of the Father has an immutable Sonship. Whereas the Scripture owns that the *Adoption* of rational Beings is not what comes to them by Nature, but by the Probity of their course of Life, and the Gift of God; and that it is not immutable. For *The Sons of God when they saw the Daughters of Men took to themselves Wives, &c.* And, *I have begotten and exalted Sons, and they have rebelled against me*; as we learn by *Isaiah*, that God said, *I could say a great deal more, my Beloved*; but I omit it; as thinking it disagreeable to suggest my Thoughts to other Teachers who are of the same Sentiments, in a tedious way. For you your selves are taught of God, and are not ignorant that this Doctrine which is lately arisen in opposition to the Religion of the Church is that of *Ebion*, and *Artemas*; and is a sort of Emulation of *Paul of Samosata*, the Bishop of *Antioch*, who was excommunicated out of the Church by a Synod, and by the Judgment of the Bishops in all Parts. After whom succeeded *Lucian*, who continued under the Excommunication of three Bishops for many Years. And hence sprang these Men that say Christ was made out of nothing, *Arius* and *Achillas* who were their concealed Offspring, and who had swallowed down the Dregs of their Impiety, and the whole Collection of these wicked Mens Adherents. And I know not how it comes to pass that

three Syrian Bishops excite them to do more Mischief by consenting with them. The Determination about whom is to be reserv'd for your Examination; who always bearing in mind the Words that belong to Christ's saving Passion, Humiliation, and emptying himself: and what is styled his Poverty, and such as peculiarly befitted him as undertaking for us, alledge them for the Subversion of his supereminent and original Divinity; while they forget those Texts which mention his natural Glory, and Dignity, and Abode with the Father; such as these; *I and the Father are one*; which are Christ's own Words; not as declaring himself to be the Father; nor pretending that those Natures which are substantially two are but one, but because the Son of the Father was to preserve the full Resemblance of his Father exactly, and represented by his Nature the perfect Imitation of him: and was the express Image of the Father, and the derivative Character of the original Being. Whence it was that our Lord plainly declared this to *Philip*, who then was desirous to see that Being. For when *Philip* said, *Shew us the Father*, he says, *He that hath seen me, hath seen the Father*. The very Father being seen, as it were, by this his most bright and living Image. The like Expression we have in the *Psalms*, where the Holy Persons say, *In [or by] thy Light shall we see Light*. Wherefore, *He that honoureth the Son honoureth the Father*; and that with good Reason: For every impious Word that Men venture to speak against Christ reflects on the Father. Nor is that which I am going to write any Wonder, my Beloved, after this: I mean when I lay open those Lyes and Calumnies which they spread abroad against me, and our most religious People. For these that openly oppose the Divinity of the Son of God don't scruple to cast out ungrateful and mad Reflections on us; nor will they admit that any of the Ancients should be compar'd with themselves; nor can they endure to have those Teachers whom we have conversed with from our Childhood to be thought equal to them. Nay indeed they don't value any of our Fellow-Bishops all over the World, as having any considerable share of Wisdom; but pretend to be the only wise Men, without any Possessions; and the Inventers of new Doctrines: And that to them alone have such things been reveal'd which never before came into the Thought of any one else under the Sun. O impious Arrogance, and unbounded Madnes, and suitable Distraction, and vain Glory, and devilish Imagination that has seized upon their wicked Souls! The religious plainness of the ancient Scriptures has not put them to shame; nor has that conspiring Veneration which our Fellow-Bishops shew concerning Christ been able to dash their Boldness; whose horrid Impiety the very Demons cannot bear; since they avoid speaking blasphemous Words against the Son of God. And so much shall suffice to have disputed, as we were able, at present, against those that raise an unlearned Dust against Christ; and propose

pose to themselves to calumniate our Piety, with regard to him. For these Inventors of wild Fables say that while we reject the impious and unwritten Blasphemy against Christ, as if he were deriv'd out of nothing, we teach that there are two Unbegotten Beings: And these unlearned Men affirm that one of these two must of Necessity be admitted; that we must either suppose that he was deriv'd out of nothing; or we must certainly say, there are two Unbegotten Beings. While these unskillful Men are ignorant how mighty a distance there is between the Unbegotten Father, and those rational and irrational Creatures which were created by him out of nothing; Between whom the Only-begotten is a middle Nature: Whereby the Father of God the Word made all things out of nothing; and which it self was begotten out of the Father; according as the Lord himself does somewhere testify, when he says, *He that loveth the Father loveth the Son that is begotten of him.* As to which Doctrines we do so believe as is agreeable to the Apostolical Church; in the Only Unbegotten Father, who has no Author of his Being, immutable, and unalterable; who is ever the same; without Variation, not capable of either Augmentation or Diminution; the Giver of the Law, and of the Prophets, and of the Gospels; the Lord of the Patriarchs, and Apostles, and of all the Saints. And in One Lord Jesus Christ, the Only-begotten Son of God, begotten, not out of Non-Existence, but out of the really existing Father; not after the manner of Bodies, by Divisions, or the Emanations of separate Effluxes, as *Sabellius* and *Valentinus* believ'd, but after an ineffable and unutterable manner; according to him that said, as we have already quoted it, *Who can declare his Generation?* His Subsistence being not to be curiously enquir'd into by any begotten, [or made] Nature; as the Father himself is not to be curiously enquir'd into; on the account that the Nature of rational Creatures cannot comprehend the Knowledge of this Divine Generation of the Father. But such Men as you, who are moved by the Spirit of Truth, don't need to learn such Doctrines of me; while the Words of Christ reach our Ears, and teach us, that *No one knoweth who the Father is but the Son, and no one knoweth who the Son is but the Father.* And we have learned that he is an immutable and unalterable Son, like the Father, that wants nothing, and is perfect, and exactly resembles the Father, and is only inferiour to the Father, as he is not Unbegotten. For he is the exact and perfect Image of the Father: For that he is the compleat Image, including all things by which the greatest Resemblance may be shewn. As the Lord himself instructs us, when he says, *My Father is greater than I.* And in like manner we believe that the Son is ever from the Father, for he is the *Efflux of his Glory*, and the *Character of his Paternal Subsistence.* But let not any one so understand the Word ever, so as to afford Suspicion that we mean Unbegotten; as those that are blinded in the Sensations

tations of their Soul. For neither do the Phrases *he was*, or *ever*, or *before the Ages*, signifie the same with Unbegotten: Nor will any other Phrase that the Mind of Man can invent mean that he is Unbegotten. As I believe that you so understand me: and I confide entirely in your right Intention, that you will not suppose that any of those Words imply that he is Unbegotten: For these Words seem to be as it were the Extension of Time; which yet cannot sufficiently express the Divinity, and, as I may say, Antiquity of the Only-begotten; and they are only used by Holy Men when they are forced to disclose this Mystery so far as every one is able, and do beg for Pardon of their Hearers by a just Apology, and own that this is the utmost they have attained to in this Matter. But if some Men expect that any Expression should come out of our Mouths beyond what mortal Men know, and pretend that such imperfect Discoveries are of no effect, 'tis plain that our Expressions *he was*, and *ever*, and *before the Ages*, and any other whatsoever, will come very short of their Expectation, and will not be equivalent to that of Unbegotten. Wherefore the peculiar Privilege of the Unbegotten Father is to be reserved to him; and we are to say that no one was the Cause of his Existence. Yet are we also to pay a due Honour to the Son, by ascribing to him a Generation before the beginning of things, [or a Generation without beginning] and so far as we have attain'd to pay him Worship by using only the Words, *he was*, and *ever*, and *before the Ages*, concerning him: Not rejecting his Divinity, but ascribing an exact and compleat Resemblance to the Image and Character of the Father; but allowing that the being Unbegotten is the only peculiar Property of the Father, as indeed our Saviour himself says, *My Father is greater than I*. And besides this pious Doctrine concerning the Father and the Son, we Confess, as the Holy Scriptures teach us, one Holy Spirit, which renewed the Holy Men of the Old Testament, and the Divine Teachers of that which is called the New: We also acknowledge only One Catholick and Apostolick Church, that can never be destroyed, tho' all the World should be desirous to fight against it: That will conquer all the most impious Attempts of the Heterodox; while its Master makes us courageous by crying, *Be of good cheer, I have overcome the World*. After this Article we own the Resurrection from the dead; whose first Fruits was our Lord Jesus Christ; who bore about him a Body really, and not only in Appearance, of *Mary*, the Mother of God; who came among Mankind at the end of the World, to put away Sin, was crucified, and died; yet did not he undergo any Detriment of his Divinity, but arose from the dead, was received up into Heaven, and sitteth on the Right Hand of the [Divine] Majesty. These things I have written down in this Epistle in part only; because I thought it would, as I said before, be tedious to give an account of every thing exactly; because your Holy Diligence is not unacquainted with them. This we teach,

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his we preach, these are the Apostolical Doctrines of the Church for which we die, not regarding those that would force us to abjure them, altho' they should use Torments to compel us to do so; as not depriv'd of that hope which arises from them. Now *Arius* and *Achillas* and their Companions, who oppose the Truth, contradict these Doctrines, and are cast out of the Church, and become Aliens from the Doctrine of Piety, according to the blessed *Paul*, who says, *If any one preach unto you otherwise than ye have received, Let him be accursed; tho' he even pretend to be an Angel from Heaven:* And again, *If any one teach otherwise, and do not give heed to sound Words, even the Words of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the Doctrine which is according to Godliness, he is proud, knowing nothing, &c.* Let not any one of you then receive these Persons that are anathematiz'd from the Brotherhood; nor let him endure what is said or written by them; for cunning Seducers will tell all sorts of Lies, and will not speak the Truth. For they go about the Cities with no other Designs than under the shew of Friendship, and the Name of Peace, to give and receive Epistles after an hypocritical and flattering manner, in order to deceive a few Women that are seduced by them, and loaden with Sins, &c. Do you therefore, my Beloved, and Cordial Brethren, reject these Men who have dar'd to do so many things against Christ; who have partly in publick expos'd Christianity, and partly have appeared very forward in discovering us before the Tribunals; and do you unite together to oppose this mad Attempt of theirs; after 'the Example of our Fellow-Bishops, who have an Indignation at them, and have sent me Letters against them, and have subscribed to our Synodical Decree: Which Papers I have sent to you by my Son *Apion*, the Deacon; partly from all *Aegypt*, and *Thebais*; partly from *Libya*, and *Pentapolis*, and *Syria*; as also from *Lycia*, and *Pamphylia*, *Asia*, *Cappadocia*, and the neighbouring Regions. The like Letters to which I hope to receive from you also. For as I procure all the Assistances I can, for the Recovery of those that are hurt, this among the rest is found to be of great Efficacy as to the People that have been seduced by them; for they are willing to submit to the agreeing Sentiment of our Fellow-Bishops, and are thereupon very ready to come to Repentance. Salute ye one another, together with the Brotherhood which is with you. I wish, Beloved, for your Health in the Lord. May I enjoy your Souls, as filled with the Love of Christ.

The

The Epistle of the same Alexander to the Catholick Bishops before the Council of Nice; out of Athanasius's Epist. Encycl. ad Episc. Op. Vol. 1. p. 397, &c. and Socrates's Hist. Eccl. 1. 1. c. 6.

To our well Beloved and Dearest Fellow-Ministers of the Catholick Church in all Places, Alexander [wisseth] Health in the Lord.

WHEREAS there is one Body of the Catholick Church, and 'tis commanded in the Holy Scriptures that we keep the Bond of Peace and Concord, it is requisite that we should write, and inform one another of what things are done amongst us, to the end, that if one Member suffer, or rejoyce, we may either jointly rejoyce, or suffer together. In our Dioceses therefore there are lately started up Men that are impious and Enemies of Christ, who teach such Apostacy, as any one may judge, and justly term the Fore-runner of Antichrist. And this I would most gladly have buried in Silence, that the Mischief might have been consumed by being included among the Apostates only, lest haply by its further Progress into other Places it should have infested the Ears of the Simple. But because *Eusebius*, now Bishop of *Nicomedia*, supposing that the Affairs of the Church are wholly at his dispose, (in regard, that having deserted the Church of *Berytus*, he has sordidly coveted that of *Nicomedia*, and has not been prosecuted by any,) does patronize even these Apostates, and has boldly attempted to write Letters up and down in Commendation of them, that thereby he might seduce some ignorant Persons into this worst and most displeasing Heresie to Christ: I thought it therefore necessary, being sensible of what is written in the Law, to be no longer silent, but to give you all Notice, that you might know those that are the Apostates, and likewise the detestable Expressions of their Heresy; and that if *Eusebius* write to you, you should give no heed to him. For he, at this time, desirous to renew his Pristine Malevolence, which seem'd to have been silenc'd [and forgot] by length of time, pretends indeed to write Letters on their behalf, but in reality he declares, that he uses his utmost Diligence to do this upon his own Account. Now these are the Names of those which are turn'd Apostates; *Arius*, *Achillas*, *Aithales*, *Carpones*, another *Arius*, *Sarmates*, *Euzoius*, *Lucius*, *Julianus*, *Menas*, *Helladius*, and *Gains*; *Secundus* also and *Themas*, who were sometimes styled Bishops. And these are their Tenets which they have invented and do assert contrary to the Authority of Scripture. God, they say, was not al-
ways

ways a Father ; but there was a time when God was not a Father. The Word of God was not from Everlasting, but had his beginning from nothing. For God, who is, made him, who was not, of nothing. Therefore there was a Time when he was not : For the Son is a Creature and a Work : Neither is he like to the Father as to his Essence, nor is he by Nature the genuine Word of the Father, nor his true Wisdom. But he is one of his Works, and one of his Creatures : And is only improperly styled the Word, and the Wisdom : For he himself exists by the proper Word of God, and by the Wisdom that is in God, by which God made all things, and him also. Wherefore he is by Nature mutable and subject to change, as well as all other rational Beings. So that the Word is different, disagreeable, and separate from the Essence of God ; and the Father cannot be declared or set forth by the Son, and is invisible to him. For the Son does not perfectly and accurately know the Father, neither can he perfectly behold him : For the Son knows not his own Essence, what it is. For our sakes he was made, that God might make use of him, as an Instrument, in order to our Creation ; nor had he ever existed, had it not pleas'd God to create us. And when one asked them, if the Word of God could be changed, as the Devil was, they were not afraid to answer, yes certainly, he may : For he is of a Nature subject to change, in that he is begotten and created. We therefore with the Bishops of *Aegypt*, and *Libya*, near a hundred in Number, being met together, have anathematiz'd *Arius*, for these his Principles, and for his impudent Assertion of them, together with all his Adherents. But *Eusebius* has given them Entertainment, endeavouring to mix Falshood with Truth, and Impiety with Piety : but he shall not prevail : For Truth getteth the Victory : And Light has no Communion with Darkness, nor hath Christ any Agreement with *Belial*. For who ever heard the like ? or what Man, if he should now hear them, would not be amazed thereat, and stop his Ears, lest the filth of this Doctrine should penetrate and infect them ? What Man is he, that when he hears these Words of *St. John*, *In the beginning was the Word*, will not condemn those that affirm, there was a Time when the Word was not ? Or who is he that, when he hears these Words of the Gospel, *The Only-begotten Son, and by him all things were made* : will not abominate these Men that say, the Son is one of the Creatures. But how can he be one of those things that were made by him ? Or how can he be termed the Only-begotten, who (according to their Sentiments of him) is reckon'd amongst all the other Creatures ? How can he be made of nothing, when as the Father himself saith, *My Heart hath indited a good Matter (a), and Before the Morning I have begotten thee in the Womb (b) ?* Or how can he be unlike the

(a) *Psal. XLV. 1.* (b) *Psal. CX. 3.*

Father in Essence, when as he is the perfect Image (a), and the Brightness of the Father (b), and when as he himself testifieth, *He that hath seen me, hath seen the Father* (c)? Now if the Son be the Word and the Wisdom of the Father, how can there be a Time when he was not? For 'tis the same [Absurdity,] as if they should say, there was a Time when God was both without his Word and his Wisdom. How can he be mutable and subject to change, who says concerning himself, *I am in the Father, and the Father in me* (d), and *I and the Father are one* (e)? He spake also by the Prophet, *Behold me, for I am the Lord, and am not changed* (f). And though some one may say, that this was spoken in reference to the Father, yet it will be more accommodate, to understand it now to be spoken in relation to the Word; because altho' he became Man, yet was he not changed: But, as the Apostle says, *Jesus Christ the same yesterday, and to day, and for ever* (g). But what Motive could they have to say, that he was made for us, when as Paul saith, *For him are all things, and by him are all things* (h)? But concerning their Blasphemy in affirming, that the Son doth not perfectly know the Father, it ought not to be wonder'd at. For having once resolved to fight against Christ, they despise even the Words of the Lord himself, who says, *As the Father knoweth me, even so know I the Father* (i). If therefore the Father knoweth the Son only in part, it is manifest, that the Son also knoweth the Father in part. But if it be impious to assert this, and if the Father knoweth the Son perfectly, it is perspicuous, that as the Father knoweth his own Word, so doth the Word know his own Father, whose Word he is. By asserting of these things, and explaining the sacred Scriptures, we have frequently confuted them; but they, like *Chameleons*, have again been changed, pertinaceously contending to appropriate to themselves this that is written, *When the impious is arrived at the very extreams of Wickedness, he despiseth* (k). There have indeed been many Heresies before these Persons, which by their too much Audaciousness have fallen into Imprudence and Folly: But these Men, who by all their Discourses attempt nothing less than the Subversion of the Divinity of the Word, have to the utmost of their Power made those [preceding] Heresies to be accounted just, in regard they approach nearer to *Antichrist*. Wherefore they are expelled out of the Church, and anathematiz'd. We are really troubled at the Destruction of these Men, and the rather because they were heretofore instructed in the Doctrine of the Church, but have now renounced it. Yet we do not look upon this as so strange a thing. For the same thing befel (l) *Hymeneus*

(a) *Colos. I. 15.* (b) *Heb. I. 3.* (c) *John XIV. 9.* (d) *John XIV. 10.* (e) *John X. 30.* (f) *Mal. III. 6.* (g) *Heb. XIII. 8.* (h) *Heb. II. 10.* (i) *John X. 15.* (k) *Prov. XVIII. 3.* (l) *2 Tim. II. 17, 18.*
and

and *philetus*; and, before them, *Judas*, who though he had been our Saviour's Disciple, yet was afterwards his Betrayer, and an Apostate. Neither have we continued unadvis'd of these very Persons: For our Lord hath predicted, *Take heed that no Man deceive you: For many shall come in my Name saying: I am [Christ,] and the time draweth near, and they shall deceive many. Go ye not therefore after them (a).* And *Paul* having learned these things from our Saviour, wrote thus, *That in the latter Days, some shall depart from the sound Faith, giving heed to seducing Spirits and Doctrines of Demons, who detest the Truth (b).* Since therefore our Lord and Saviour *Jesus Christ* hath himself commanded this, and also by his Apostle hath given us intimation concerning these Men, we being Ear-Witnesses of their Impiety, have deservedly anathematiz'd these Men, as we said before, and openly declared them estranged from the Catholick Church and Faith. Moreover, we have signified thus much to your Piety, (beloved and dearest Fellow-Ministers) that if any of them should have the Confidence to come to you, you might not entertain them, and that you should not be persuaded [to believe] *Eusebius*, or any one else that shall write to you concerning them. For it is our Duty, as we are *Christians*, to detest all those that speak or devise any thing against Christ, as the Enemies of God, and the Corrupters of Souls, and not to say to such Men so much as God speed, lest we become Partakers of their Iniquities (as *St. John* hath commanded us) (c). *Salute the Brethren that are with you, they that are with us salute you.*

N. B. In these two Epistles, especially in the former very large and very remarkable one we have many things of great Consequence to be observ'd. As, (1.) That almost all the things charg'd upon *Arius*, and his peculiar Followers, as the Occasions of his Condemnation and Excommunication by *Alexander*, are utterly denied by the *Eusebians*; and most of them even by *Arius* and his peculiar Followers themselves. So that whether *Arius* and his peculiar Followers did at first assert what is here charg'd upon them, and afterwards relinquish it; or whether a great part of this Charge was false, and the Effect of Party and Passion only, it is almost all one as to the *Eusebians*, who never did assert such things; and so are they no way affected by that Condemnation and Excommunication. (2.) That therefore the *Eusebians* were most unjustly and without all ground styled *Arians*, by *Athanasius* and his Followers afterwards. (3.) That the reality of the Distinction between the Persons of the Father, and of the Son; or that they were substantially and numerically different Beings, was the plain and certain Doctrine of the Church just before the Council of *Nice*. It

(a) *Mat. XXIV. 4. Luke XXI. 8. (b) 1 Tim. IV. 1. (c) 2 John 10, 11.*

being hardly possible to express that Doctrine more strongly than it is here done. (4.) That therefore the Numerical Consubstantiality or Sameness of Nature and Substance of the Father and Son, was an utter Stranger to the Church in that Age. (5.) That even the Specific Consubstantiality, or Sameness of Substance and Nature of the Father and the Son seems also to have been a Stranger to the Church at that time. It being here asserted that the Son is of a Nature between the Nature of the Father, and the Nature of those Beings that were made by the Son *out of nothing*. (6.) That when these Letters were written the *Arians* seem not to have made much use of that Expression *Christ was not before he was begotten*, of which here is no mention; for which yet in part they were afterward condemned by the Council of *Nice*; but only that there *was a Duration when he was not*; and the occasion of the more frequent Use of the other Expression afterwards seems to have been this, to shew that they did not mean, as their Enemies were ready to suggest, that there was any *Time*, or any *Ages*, or determinate Duration of that Time, or of those Ages that had passed from the utmost Origin of created Beings before his Generation; but that they owned all such Time and such Ages posterior to him, and made by him; tho' they did still affirm that, as to absolute Duration it self, with respect to God, he *once* was not, *viz.* before his own real Generation or Creation by the Father. Nor is it improbable that upon this later Explication of theirs it was that the Church began to come into that Notion, which several Philosophical Christians had before had, concerning the Metaphysical, Potential, or Virtual Pre-existence of our Saviour, before his real Generation or Creation; which we find by *Eusebius's* Letter was the grand Expedient at the Council of *Nice* in this Case. (7.) That there was then no Ecclesiastical Doctrine or Tradition in the Church concerning the proper and strict *Co-eternity* of the Father and the Son; but on the contrary it was own'd by all that the Father alone was the Eternal and Unbegotten Cause and Origin of all other Beings whatsoever, and even of the Son himself; and that on this very Account the Father was *greater* than the Son; and this as an undoubted Foundation of the Christian Faith. (8.) That yet because there were no Texts of Scripture, or Traditions of the Church which said there was any determinate *Time*, or *Age*, or *Duration*, when the Son absolutely was not; or had no manner of Existence; and because he was said to *exist* in the very *beginning* of things, and to be *always* with the Father, and to be *before the Ages*, nay, that the *Ages* were made by him, the Church then chose to use and confine herself to the old Language alone, and did not think it safe to say he *once* was not; especially since they were afraid this would imply that he was himself *derived out of nothing*, like those very Creatures which were made by him afterward. (9.) That the great Reason of that Caution was this, that the Church had then no Notion of an absolute, uncreated Duration, as prior to, and distinct from *Time*, and

the *Ages* after the Creation; but thought all the Words possible to be us'd of that sort did imply a created Duration only; and that by Consequence Christ, who created that *Time*, and those *Ages*, was certainly prior to them all. (10.) That yet they never durst say that God the Father was not before him; but only that no other Being was before him, or indeed so early as he. (11.) That the Divinity of our Saviour, in the ancient Sense, was then the known Doctrine of the Church. (12.) That yet there was not then the least Sign of the Modern Doctrine of the Divinity of the Holy Ghost, but the contrary. And by Consequence (13.) That the *Athanasian* Doctrine of the Trinity in Unity, and of the Consubstantiality and Coequality of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, were then perfect Strangers to the Christian Church.

The Synodical Epistle of the Council of Nice from Socrat. Hist. Eccl. L. I. c. 9. and Theod. Hist. Eccl. L. I. c. 6.

To the Holy (by the Grace of God) and great Church of the Alexandrians, and to our beloved Brethren the Inhabitants of Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis; the Bishops assembled at Nice, who fill up that great and holy Synod, send Greeting in the Lord.

FOR as much as by the Grace of God, and [the Summons] of the most pious Emperor *Constantine*, (who hath called us together out of diverse Cities and Provinces,) a great and holy Synod has been convened at *Nice*, it seem'd altogether necessary, that a Letter should be written to you in the Name of the sacred Synod; whence you might understand what things were there propos'd, and what taken into Examination, as also what were decreed and established. First of all therefore, the Impiety and Iniquity of *Arius* and his Complices was inquired into, in the Presence of the most pious Emperor *Constantine*: and the Council's Determination (which was confirmed by the Suffrages of all) was, that his impious Opinion, and execrable Terms and Names should be *anathematiz'd*, which [Terms and Names] he blasphemously used, affirming that the Son of God had his Being of nothing, and that there was a Time when he was not; as also saying, that the Son of God had a freedom of Will, [whereby he was] capable either of Vertue or Vice; [and calls him a Creature and a Work.] All these [Tenets] the Holy Synod hath *anathematized*, not enduring so much as patiently to hear this impious Opinion, or rather Madness, and these blasphemous Expressions. But what Issue the Proceedings against him are arriv'd at, you have either heard already, or will hear; lest we should seem to insult over a Man who hath receiv'd a condign Recompence for his own Wickedness. But his Impiety was grown so prevalent, that he drew into the same Pit of Perdition [with himself]

self] *Theonas* Bishop of *Marmarica*, and *Secundus* Bishop of *Ptolemais*. For the same Sentence [that had been given against him] was pronounced against them. But after the Grace of God had delivered us from that mischievous Opinion, and from Impiety, and Blasphemy, and from those Persons who were so audacious as to make Divisions and [sow] Discord amongst a People heretofore peaceable; there yet remain'd the perverse Stubbornness of *Meletius*, and those that had been by him admitted into sacred Orders: And we now relate to you (Beloved Brethren) the Judgment of the Synod concerning this Particular. It pleas'd therefore the Synod (which dealt more kindly with *Meletius*; for in the strictest Sense and Rigour of the Law he did not deserve the least Favour) that he should continue in his City, but have no Jurisdiction, neither to Ordain, or to propose the Names of those that were to be ordained, or to appear in any Village, or City, upon this Pretence; but that he should barely enjoy his Appellation and Title only. And as for those that had been Ordained by him to any Function, being confirm'd by a more sacred Ordination, they should afterwards be admitted into Communion; and upon this Condition they may continue possessors of their Preferment and Function: but yet they are to acknowledge themselves always interiour to all those that had been approved of in every Diocese and Church, who had been Ordained before by our dearest Colleague in the sacred Function, *Alexander*. So that besides, they shall have no Power to propose, or nominate whom they please, or to act in any thing at all without the Knowledge and Consent of some Catholick Bishop, who is one of *Alexander's* Suffragans. But those that by the Grace of God, and your Prayers have not been found [engaged] in any Schism, but have continued in the Catholick Church blameless, let such have Power to nominate and elect those that are worthy of the sacred Function, and act in all things according to the establish'd Law and Sanctions of the Church. And if it shall happen that some of those who now hold Ecclesiastick Preferments, die, then let those that are newly admitted and receiv'd [into the Church] be prefer'd to the Dignities of the deceas'd, provided that they shall appear worthy, and that the People shall freely elect them; provided also that the Bishop of *Alexandria* doth by his Suffrage ratifie and confirm [the Peoples Election.] This same Privilege is also granted to all. But concerning *Meletius* in particular we otherwise Decree, that (because of his former Irregularity, Rashness, and Giddiness of Disposition,) no Jurisdiction or Authority shall be allowed him, he being a Man able to revive the same Disturbances that were before. These things are such as most especially and particularly relate to *Egypt*, and [concern] the most Holy Church of *Alexandria*. But if there shall be any other Canon or Decree made; being our Lord, and our most Reverend Fellow-Minister and Brother *Alexander* is present, he at his Arrival will give you a more particular Account, in regard he is the Author of, and conscious to, whatever is done.

We also send you the good News concerning the unanimous Consent of all in reference to the Celebration of the most solemn Feast of *Easter*; for this Difference also hath been made up by the Assistance of your Prayers; so that all the Brethren in the East, who formerly celebrated this Festival at the same time the *Jews* did, will in future conform to the *Romans*, and to us, and to all who have of old observed our manner of celebrating *Easter*. Do you therefore (rejoycing at the good Success of Affairs, and at the unanimous Peace and Concord [amongst all Men,] and also because all Heresie is wholly extirpated,) with a greater Honour, and more ardent Love receive our Fellow-Minister (but your Bishop) *Alexander*, whose Presence here hath greatly rejoyced us, and who in this his infirm Age hath endured so great Labours, that Peace might be restored amongst you. Pray for us all, that those good Determinations which are made, may remain firm and inviolable, through Almighty God, and our Lord Jesus Christ, [together with] the Holy Ghost; to whom be Glory for ever, *Amen*.

N. B. In *Theodorit's* Copy of this Epistle that pretended Clause of the Council's Anathematizing the *Arians* for calling Christ, *A Creature*, and *A Work*, is intirely omitted, as it ought to be, (tho' it be in *Socrates*, and even without all ground, in the very *Latin* of *Theodorit*;) and in the same *Theodorit's* Copy the imitation of a Doxology at the Conclusion is not in the Modern Form with, as 'tis in *Socrates*, but the Original one, in the *Holy Ghost*, as it was no doubt written by the Council. Nor is *Socrates* to be at all depended on in such Matters against any other ancient Authority; as we see in this and not a few other Examples. While *Theodorit* must be own'd to be a much fairer Historian, and to deliver us Copies of Records more faithfully as they came to him.

N. B. I hope the Reader will forgive me if I add here, though out of its proper Place, the following remarkable Words of the learned Dr. *Geddes*, concerning the Council of *Sardica*: The Reasons of my Suspicion concerning which I have (a) above given; and which, if valid, will ruin the Reputation of *Athanasius* for ever. “ (b) The Story of the Council of *Sardica*, says the Doctor, “ is a dark and perplex'd Piece of History. By some it is said to “ have been assembled by *Constantine* the Great; by others, by his “ Sons *Constantine* and *Constantius*: By some, and of which Number was the great St. *Austin*, it is said to have condemned the “ *Nicene* Creed; by others, to have renewed and confirmed it; “ and by others, not to have medled with it at all; nor with any “ thing else but *Athanasius's* Cause. By some it is said to have “ consisted of but 68 Bishops, by others of 250, by others of near “ 300, by others of above 300. So that in truth there is nothing “ that concerns it that is very certain. [See also the rest of that “ Essay.]

(a) Pag. 101, 102. (b) *Essay on the Canons of Sardica*, p. 5, 6. Con

Constantine's pretended Letters to the Bishops and People; and to the Alexandrians after the Council of Nice; Out of Socrates Hist. Eccl. L. I. c. 9.

Victor Constantinus Maximus Augustus, to the Bishops and People.

IN as much as *Arius* has followed the Practices of wicked and prophane Persons, 'tis but just that he should undergo the same Ignominy with them. Therefore, as *Porphyrus*, that Enemy of true Piety, found a just Recompence for composing impious Volumes against Religion, and such a Recompence as has render'd him ignominious to Posterity, covered him with Infamy and many Reproaches, and his impious Writings have been utterly destroyed; so it also now seems reasonable to term *Arius* and those that embrace his Opinion *Porphyrans*, that they may derive their Denomination from him, whose Morals they have so exactly imitated. Moreover, if any Book written by *Arius* shall be found extant, we do hereby Order, that it be immediately burnt: that by this means not only his wicked Doctrine may be wholly destroyed, but also that there might not be left to Posterity the least Monument of him. This also we declare, that if any Person shall be found to have concealed a Book compiled by *Arius*, and shall not immediately produce the said Book and burn it, his Punishment shall be Death. For immediately upon his being found guilty of this Fact, he shall undergo a capital Punishment. God preserve you.

Constantinus Augustus to the Catholick Church of Alexandria. Sozomen Hist. Eccl. L. I. c. 25.

GOD save you beloved Brethren. We have receiv'd the greatest Blessing from the Divine Providence, that being released from all Error, we can now embrace and profess one and the same Faith. The Devil hath no longer a Dominion over us: For all the Machinations he design'd against us are now totally destroyed. The bright Lustre of Truth has (according to the Commandment of God) defeated those Disentions, those Schisms, those Tumults, and (if I may so term them) those fatal Poysons of Discord. We therefore do all adore one God in Name, and we believe that he is. Moreover, that this might be effected, by the Admonition of God, we convened a great many Bishops at the City of *Nice*: together with whom we our selves, one of your Number, who rejoyce exceedingly in that we are your Fellow-Servant, undertook the Disquisition of the Truth. We did therefore enquire into and accurately discuss all things, which seem'd to yield the least Occasion of Ambiguity, or Dissention. And (may the divine Majesty pardon

us!) how great and horrid Blasphemies have some indecently uttered concerning our Great Saviour, concerning our Hope and Life, speaking and openly professing that they believe things contrary to the divinely inspired Scriptures, and to the sacred Faith? When as therefore three hundred Bishops and upwards, admirable both for their Moderation and Acuteness of Understanding, had unanimously confirmed one and the same Faith; (which, according to the Verity and accurate Disquisition of the Divine Law, can only be the Faith) *Arius*, vanquished by a diabolical Force, was found to be the only Person, who with an impious Mind disseminated this Mischief, first amongst you, and afterwards amongst others. Let us therefore embrace that Opinion which Almighty God hath delivered. Let us return to our beloved Brethren, from whom this impudent Servant of the Devil hath separated us. Let us with all Diligence imaginable hasten to the common Body, and to our own natural Members. For this doth naturally become your Prudence, Faith, and Sanctity, this since his Error (which has been evidently prov'd to be an Enemy of the Truth) is confuted, you should return to the Divine Grace. For that which was approv'd of by three hundred Bishops, can be [judged] nothing else but the Determination of God; especially, since the Holy Ghost residing in the Minds of such great and worthy Personages, hath disclosed to them the Will of God. Wherefore let none of you continue dubious, let none of you make Delays; but do you all with great Alacrity return to the right way: that when we come to you, which shall be as soon as possible, we may together with you return due Thanks to God who inspects all things, because, having revealed the pure Faith, he hath restored you that mutual Love which was the Subject of all Mens Prayers. God preserve you, Beloved Brethren.

N. B. These Letters, as they are here given us, seem to me to be Spurious, for the following Reasons: (1.) They are very violent and outrageous; contrary to the Prudence of so great an Emperor, and contrary to the Nature of the rest of his Letters any where extant. (2.) *Eusebius's* Accounts of the second, or of another to the same City, and to the same purpose afterward, is quite contrary to their Character. For he assures us, “ (a) That *Constantine* was put into no Passion by the *Alexandrian* Troubles; but treated the People with great Respect, and bestow'd Gifts and Presents on them; and that he confirmed the Decrees of the Synod, and exhorted them to agree, and not to disturb the Church, or tear it to pieces; but to be mindful of the divine Judgment, which they were to undergo. Which Characters very ill agree with these Letters, as they lie before us. “ (3.) They are intirely contrary to the Genius and Temper of his former undoubted Letter to the *Alexandrians*, a little before the Council of *Nice*, to be produc'd presently from *Eusebius*: While he therein “ Supposes both

(a) *De Vit. Constantin. L. III, c. 23.*

“ Sides equally to blame; and that the Differences were only
 “ Trifles, and subtle unprofitable Niceties : Which is contrary to
 the whole Drift and Design of these before us. (4.) They are in-
 tirely contrary to the same *Constantine's* Letter to the Churches a-
 bout the Decrees of the Council of *Nice* also : which will be pre-
 sently set down from *Eusebius*. This speaks so little and so coldly
 about the Doctrine, and so much more largely and warmly about
 the Rule for Uniformity in the Observation of *Easter*, as is very
 remarkable, and intirely disagrees with the present Copies of these
 Letters. (5.) Neither of the best Historians, *Eusebius* and *Theodo-
 rit*, have a Word of either of these Letters, among the rest of
 their authentick Records about the Council of *Nice*. *Socrates* only
 has them; and *Sozomen*, who is generally allow'd very much to
 follow *Socrates*, only hints at the Contents of the second, as it is
 in *Socrates* : Which is all the Authority they stand upon. Now
 we have shew'd already how much *Socrates* followed *Athanasius* in
 these Matters. 'Tis therefore very probable that at the bottom
 these Letters are meer Forgeries of his, or of some of his Crea-
 tures, and so of no Value nor Consideration in the World.

*Eusebius of Nicomedia and Theognis of Nice's Petition
 to the Bishops, after the Council of Nice; on which they
 were restor'd to their Sees; Out of Socrat. Hist. Eccl.
 L. I. c. 14. and Sozomen Hist. Eccl. L. II. c. 16.*

WE having been some time since condemned by your Piety,
 without having our Cause declared or defended, ought
 quietly to bear what has been determined by your Holy Discretion.
 But because 'tis absurd by Silence to give an Occasion of Calumny
 against our selves, for this Reason we declare to you, that we have
 both unanimously agreed to the [Determination about the] Faith,
 and also (after we had made Researches into the Notion of *Homô-
 onstos*,) with our utmost earnestness laboured for Peace, having ne-
 ver been Followers of any Heresie. And when we had suggested
 whatever came into our Minds upon account of the Churches Secu-
 rity, and had fully satisfied those that ought to be perswaded by us,
 we subscribed the Faith, but have not subscribed the *Anathema-
 tism*. Not that we had any thing to object against the Faith; but be-
 cause we did not believe the Person accused to be such a one [as
 he was represented to be;] having been fully satisfied that he was
 no such Person, partly from the private Letters written to us by
 him, and partly from the Discourses he made in our Presence. But
 if your Holy Council was [then] satisfied, we [now] make no Re-
 sistance, but agree to what you have determined, and by this *Libel*
 do fully declare and confirm our Consent; [which we are induced

to do] not because we look upon our Exile to be tedious and burdensome, but that we might avoid the suspicion of Heresie. For if you shall now vouchsafe to let us return to your Presence, you shall find us to be of the same Opinion with you in all Points, and quietly to adhere to what you have determined: Since it has seemed good to your Piety, gently to treat even him, who is accused for these things, and to recal him from Banishment. But it would be absurd (since he that seemed to be guilty is recalled, and has made his Defence in reference to those things laid to his Charge,) that we should be silent, and muster up an Argument against our selves. Do you therefore vouchsafe (as it befits your Piety that loves Christ) to remind our Emperor most dear to God, to offer up our Supplications to him, and speedily to determine concerning us as shall be most agreeable to your [Prudence.]

Eustathius Bishop of Antioch's Account of the Council of Nice; as translated in Du Pin, from Theodorit.

(4) **A** Very numerous Council being assembled about this Matter in the City of *Nice*; where 270 Bishops, or thereabouts, assisted; (for the Number was so great that I cannot precisely set it down: and besides I took no great Care to inform my self of it.) When they first began to enquire into the Faith, a Libel of *Eusebius's* was produc'd, which contain'd a convincing Proof of his Blasphemies. The reading of it caus'd a sensible Grief in all that heard it, and great Confusion in its Author. The Malignity of *Eusebius's* Associates being discover'd, and the impious Writing being publickly torn in pieces, some under pretence of the Peace which they propos'd, impos'd Silence upon those that us'd to speak better than others. The *Arians*, apprehending that they should be cast out of the Church by the Judgment of so great an Assembly, condemn'd the impious Doctrine, and sign'd the Confession of Faith; but having secur'd by their Cabals the principal Dignities to themselves, instead of suffering canonical Penance, as they ought, they maintain'd the Doctrine that was condemn'd, sometimes in private, and sometimes in publick, by several Arguments, which they had invented for that purpose. The Desire they had to sow the Seeds of Division made them shun meeting with the Learned, and attacking the Defenders of the Faith. But we do not think that these Atheists can overcome God: for whatever Efforts they make will be vanquish'd, according to the authentick Testimonies of the Prophet *Isaiah*. [See also in *Du Pin* a few Fragments of this Author's. Tho' they incline so much to the *Nestorian* Doctrine; and the Author was so soon after depos'd for Sabellianism and Adultery, that his Authority will be the less considerable.]

The Authentick History of the Council of Nice by Eusebius; including Constantine's Letter to Alexander and Arius Before, his Oration to the Bishops At, and his Letter to the Churches After it. De Vit. Constant. L. II. c. 61.---L. III. c. 23.

(a) **W**HILST he was exceeding joyful on account hereof, News was brought him, concerning a Disturbance of no small Consequence, which had seized the Churches. At the hearing whereof he was extremely troubled, and began earnestly to consider of a Cure. [The Original of the Disturbance] was this. The People of God were in a flourishing Condition, and pleased themselves with the Exercises of good Actions. There was no Fear without, which might give Disturbance: In regard, by the Grace and Favour of God, a splendid and most profound Peace fortified the Church on all sides. But Envy framed treacherous Designs against our Blessings. [At first] it crept in privately; but [afterward] it danced in the very midst of the Conventions of the Saints. At length it raised Contention between the Bishops, and cast in Discord and Wranglings amongst them, under a Pretence of the Divine *Dogmata*. From thence, as 'twere from some small Spark, a great Fire was kindled. Which began from the *Alexandrian Church*, as 'twere from an Eminence; and afterwards over-ran all *Ægypt*, and *Libya*, and the *Further Thebais*. Moreover, it ruined the rest of the Provinces and Cities: in so much that, you might have seen not only the Prelates of the Churches fighting one with another with Words; but the People also rent into Factions; some inclining to this Party; others to that. Further, the spectacle of the things performed proceeded to such an height of Absurdity, that even in the very Theaters of the Infidels, the Venerableness of the Divine Doctrine was traduced by a most ignominious and reproachful Derision. (b) These Persons therefore at *Alexandria* in a childish Manner strove about the sublimest [Points.] But others all over *Ægypt* and the *Upper Thebais* were in the interim at difference on account of a Controversy which had been started before: So that, the Churches were in all Places rent in sunder. And whereas the Body [of the Church] was distempered as 'twere with these [Diseases,] all *Libya* likewise fell sick; and the other Parts of the Provinces without were seized with the same Distemper. For they of *Alexandria* sent Legates to the Bishops in each Province; and these, divided into either side, partook of the like Sedition

(a) Lib. II. Chap. LXI. *How from the City Alexandria Controversies were raised on account of Arius.* (b) Chap. LXII. *Concerning Arius and the Meletians,*

and

and Disturbance. (a) ~~Upon~~ hearing hereof the Emperor was highly perplex in Mind, and looking upon this thing to be his own calamitous Concern, he forthwith dispatches away one of the Worshippers of God whom he had about him, (a Person whom he well knew to have been approved for his Modesty of Faith, and in the late Times to have been ennobled with Confessions in Defence of Piety;) to *Alexandria*, to make Peace between those that were at difference there. And by him he sends a most useful and necessary Letter to the Occasioners of that Contention. Which Letter, in regard it contains an illustrious *Specimen* of his Care in reference to the People of God, is fit to be inserted into this our Discourse concerning him. The Contents of it are these.

VICTOR CONSTANTINUS MAXIMUS AUGUSTUS, to Alexander and Arius.

(b) **W**E call God to witness, who, as 'tis meet, is himself the Assistant of our Attempts, and the Saviour of all Men; that upon a twofold Account we were moved to take in hand the Management of those Affairs which we have in reality performed. (c) For first [our Design was] to unite the Opinion of all Nations concerning the Deity, in one Constitution and Form as 'twere: Secondly, we were desirous of restoring to an Healthiness the Body of the whole World, afflicted as 'twere with some terrible Distemper. Which [two things] having proposed to our self as our Aim, we inspected the one with the secret Eye of Thought; but we attempted to affect the other by the Power of a military Force; well knowing that if (as 'twas our Desire) we could establish an universal Agreement amongst the Worshippers of God, the Consequence would be, that the Administration of the publick Affairs would certainly obtain a Change agreeable to the pious Minds of all Men. (d) When therefore an intolerable Madness had seized all *Africa*, occasioned by some Persons, who with a rash Levity had dared to rent the Religion of the People into various Sects; we being desirous to put a stop to this Distemper, could find no other Remedy sufficient to effect its Cure, than (after we had destroyed the Common Enemy of the World, who had opposed his own impious Opinion and Command against your sacred Synods;) that we should send some of you as Assistants in order to the making up an Agreement between those who were at variance one with another.

(a) Lib. II. Chap. LXIII. *How Constantine sent a Legate with a Letter in order to a Composure.* (b) Chap. LXIV. *Constantine's Letter to Alexander the Bishop, and Arius the Presbyter.* (c) Chap. LXV. *That he was continually solicitous about Peace.* (d) Chap. LXVI. *In what manner he put a stop to the Controversies raised in Africk.*

For

(a) For, whereas the Power of [the true] Light, and the Law of the sacred Religion, being by the Beneficence of God given forth out of the Bosoms (as I may so say) of the East, hath at the same time illuminated the whole World with its sacred Light, we upon a very good account believing you would prove the Authors, as 'twere, and Promoters of the Salvation of [all] Nations, have attempted to find you out, as well by a Propensity of our Mind, as the sight of our Eyes. Immediately therefore after our great Victory, and our most certain Triumph over our Enemies, we had resolved before all things to enquire into that again, which we judged to be the chiefest and most momentous of all. (b)* But (O the most beautiful and Divine Providence!) what a deadly Wound hath been given to our Ears, or rather to our very Heart, when 'twas told us, that the Dissentions raised amongst you were far more fierce than those which have been left remaining in *Africk*? In so much that your Parts, from which we hop'd a Remedy might have been produced for others, do now stand in need of a greater Cure. Indeed, when we seriously considered of the Origin and Cause of these [Differences,] the Occasion appeared to us very trivial, and such as in no wise deserved so fierce a Contest. Wherefore, being induced to a Necessity of [penning] this Letter, and writing to *Your Unanimous Sagacity*, having also called upon Divine Providence to be Our Assistant in this Affair, we do upon a good account interpose Our Self as the *Arbiter* of your mutual Dissention, and as an *Administrator* of Peace. For, if we Our Self (God giving us his Assistance, although there were a greater Occasion of Discord, yet) by instilling Reason into the pious Minds of our Hearers, could be able without much Difficulty to recal each Person to more wholesome Counsels; why may not we the same Person (in regard the Occasion is small and very trivial, which hinders the Agreement of the whole Body;) promise Our Self an easier and far more expedite Accommodation of this Matter? (c) We understood therefore, that the Ground of the present Controversy arose from hence. For whereas You, *Alexander*, enquired of your Presbyters, what every particular Person's [Sentiments was] concerning a certain Passage of those things written in the Law, or rather asked about a part of a fruitless Controversie: And whereas You, *Arius*, inconsiderately vented that, which you ought either not to have conceived at first, or if you had had such Conceptions, it had been your Duty to have let them been buried in Silence: Hereupon a Dissention has been raised between you, Communion is denied, and

(a) Lib. II. Chap. LXVII. *That the Beginnings of Religion were from the East.* (b) Chap. LXVIII. *That being troubled by reason of the Disturbance, he advises to an Agreement.* (c) Chap. LXIX. *Whence the Controversie between Alexander and Arius arose; and, that such Matters ought not to be enquired into.*

the most holy People, rent into two Factions, are separated from the harmonious Unity of the whole Body. Wherefore, let both of you, mutually pardoning each other, accept of what your Fellow-Servant doth reasonably advise you to. But what is that? It was fitting, neither to have asked such Questions at first, nor if proposed, to have made any return thereto. For such Questions, which no Law does necessarily order or prescribe, but are proposed by the Contentiousness of an unprofitable Vacancy from Business, (although they may be made to exercise and employ our natural Parts about, yet) we ought to confine within our Breasts, and not inconsiderately divulge them in publick Assemblies, nor unadvisedly commit them to the Ears of the Vulgar. For, what Person amongst a thousand is sufficiently qualified, either accurately to comprehend the full Efficacy and Nature of things so sublime and profound, or to explicate them according to their Worth and Dignity? Or, should any Man look upon this to be an easie Performance, how small a Part of the Vulgar will he induce to be fully perswaded hereof? Or, what Man can without Danger of falling into gross Errors, insist upon the accurate Discussions of such nice Controversies? In Questions therefore of this Nature, Loquacity must be bridled and restrained, lest either through the Frailty of our Nature, we being not able to explicate what we propose, or through the slower Understanding of the Auditors, (being unable accurately to apprehend those Matters discoursed of;) least [we say] from the one of these two Causes, the People be reduced to a Necessity either of Blasphemy, or Schism. (a) Wherefore let an unwary Question, and an inconsiderate Answer in both of you mutually pardon each other. For this Contest hath not been raised among you upon an Occasion of any principal or chief Commandment of our Law: Nor have you introduced any new Heresy concerning the Worship of God; but both of you hold one and the same Opinion; so that, You may easily close with each other in a Consent of Communion. (b) For whilst you thus pertinaciously contend about Trifles and Matters of no Importance, 'tis not decent that so numerous a Multitude of God's People should be under your Care and Government, because of your Dissention with one another: Nor is it only misbecoming, but 'tis likewise judged to be altogether unlawful. Now that we may advertise your Prudence by a smaller instance, we will tell you: You know even the Philosophers themselves, how that they are all united in [the Profession of] one Sect; whenas nevertheless, they frequently disagree in some part of their Assertions: But although they dissent in the very Perfection of Science, yet because of the Agreement and Union

(a) Lib. II. Chap. LXX. *An Exhortation to an Agreement.* (b) Chap. LXXI. *That a pertinacious Contention ought not to have been raised concerning this Matter, on account of some light and frivolous Expressions.*

of their Sect, they close again in a mutual Consent. Now, if it be so [amongst them,] how will it not be much more reasonable, that You, who are the Ministers of the most High God, should in like manner be unanimous in the Profession of the same Religion? But, let us with more Accuracy and a greater Attention, inspect and examine what we have now said; whether it be reasonable, that because of the trivial, vain, and pertinacious Contests between you about Words, Brethren should be set in Array as 'twere against Brethren; and that the venerable Assembly should, upon your account, who contend one with another about things so slight and in no wise necessary, be rent in sunder by an impious Variance. These things are poor and mean, and do besit a childish Ignorance, rather than agree with the Understanding of Priests and prudent Men. Let us of our own accord depart from the Temptations of the Devil. Our great God, the common Saviour of all, hath reached forth a Light common to all. By the Assistance of whose Providence give us leave, who are his Servants, successfully to finish this our Endeavour; that by our Exhortation, Diligence, and earnest Admonitions, we may reduce you to a Communion of Convention. For in regard, as we have said already, your Faith is one and the same, and your Sentiment of our Religion is one; and whereas the Commandment of the Law doth in each part of it inclose all in general, in one Consent and Purpose of Mind; Let not this thing, which has raised a small Contention between you, (in as much as it appertaineth not to the Sum of all Religion in general,) by any means make any Separation and Faction amongst you. And these things we speak, not to necessitate you to be all of one Opinion concerning this foolish idle Question, of what sort soever it be. For the precious Value of the Convention may be preserved entire amongst you, and one and the same Communion may be retained, although there be interchangeably amongst you a great diversity of Sentiments in things of the least Moment. For, we do not all will the same in all things; nor is there in us one Disposition or Opinion. Therefore concerning the Divine Providence, let there be amongst you one Faith, one Understanding, and one Consent in reference to God. But, as for those slender and trivial Questions, which with so much Niceness you dispute of, and make Researches into amongst your selves, although therein you do not agree in the same Opinion, yet 'tis fit you should confine them to your own Thoughts, and keep them within the secret Repositories of your Minds. Let therefore that eximious [Privilege] of a common Friendship, and the belief of the Truth, and the Honour of God, and a religious Observancy in reference to [His] Law, remain amongst you firm and immoveable. Return ye to a mutual Friendship and Charity: Restore to the whole Body of the People their own Embraces. And be you your selves (having purified your own Souls as 'twere,) acquainted again [and renew your Familiarity] with each other. For Friendship (when it returns to Re-

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conciliation again,) frequently becomes sweeter and more pleasing after the removal of the Enmity. (a) Restore therefore to us peaceable and serene Days, and Nights void of Care; that the Pleasure of the pure Light, and the Joy of a quiet Life may in future be reserved for us also. Which if [we shall] not [obtain,] we must of Necessity groan, and be wholly surrounded with Tears; nor shall we finish the residue of our Life without great Disquietude. For, whilst the People of God, (we mean our Fellow-Servants,) are rent in sunder by this unreasonable and pernicious Contention one with another, how is it possible for us in future to continue in a sedate Temper of Mind? But, that you may be sensible of our excessive Grief on account of this Matter, [be attentive to what we shall tell you:] When we lately came to the City *Nicomedia*, we had resolved forthwith to have made a Journey into the *East*: But whilst we were hasting unto you, and by the greatest part were with you, the News of this Affair quite alter'd our Resolution: that we might not be necessitated to behold with our Eyes those things of which we accounted even the Report to be intolerable. Do you therefore in future, by your Unanimity, open a way for us into the *East*, which by your mutual Contentions you have stopp'd up. Give us leave with Joy speedily to see you, and all the rest of the People, and that with an unanimous Consent of Praises we may attribute to God due thanks for the Concord and Liberty of all Persons.

(b) After this manner the pious [Emperor,] by sending his Letter, made Provision for the Peace of the Church of God. Moreover, that good Man made use of his utmost Diligence, not only in carrying the Letter, but in fulfilling his Will, by whom he had been sent. And he was every way a pious Person, as I have said. But the Affair was greater than to be accommodated by the help of a Letter. In so much that the Contention of the Persons at variance increased daily; and the Vehemency of the Mischief over-ran all the Eastern Provinces. Envy, and the malicious Devil, vex'd at the Prosperity of the Church, invented these things for our Destruction. (c) These things be performed with a Complacency of Mind. But the Blackness of Envy, which [at that time] in an horrid manner disturbed the Churches of God at *Alexandria*, and the pestilent Schism of those of *Thebais* and *Ægypt*, troubled him not a little. For the Bishops in each City strove with the Bishops, and the People made Insurrections against the People, and, dash'd one against another like the *Symplegades*, were cut in pieces by mutual Wounds.

(a) Lib. II. Chap. LXXII. That being highly affected with Grief in regard of his Piety, he was necessitated to shed Tears; and, that on this account, he put off the Journey he was about to make into the *East*.

(b) Chap. LXXIII. That after this Letter, the Disturbance about the Controversies continued. (c) Lib. III. Chap. IV. Again concerning the Controversies [raised] in *Ægypt* by Arius.

In so much that, spurred on at length by a Fury and Desperateness of Mind, they attempted impious and nefarious Facts, and were so audacious as to do Violence to the Pictures of the Emperor. But these things did not so much excite the Emperor's Anger, as they grieved and disquieted his Mind; in regard he was extremely troubled at the Madness of Men that were impaired as to their Intellectuals. (a) Moreover, before these [Distempers] there had risen another most sore Disease, which for a long time had infested the Church; [namely] a Dissention about the salutary Feast. For some affirmed, that the Usage of the *Jews* ought to be followed: Others asserted, that the time it self was accurately to be observed, nor were erroneous Persons to be followed, who were estranged from Evangelick Grace even in this Matter also. Whereas therefore the People in all Places had now for a long time disagreed one with another, and whereas the divine Laws [of our Religion] were disturbed and subverted; (for, in one and the same Feast, a Diversity of Time begat the greatest Dissention imaginable amongst those who celebrated the Feast; in regard some Persons afflicted themselves with Fastings and Austerities; others indulged to Leisure and Mirth;) there was no Mortal able to find out and administer a Remedy to this Mischief; because the Controversy hung in an equal poyze, as 'twere, between the dissenting Parties. To the only Omnipotent God it was easie to cure these Evils. Whose sole Minister of good things upon Earth appeared to be *Constantine*. Who, after he had received an account of what we have even now mentioned, and saw that his Letter to *Alexandria* proved ineffectual; himself mustered up [all the Forces of] his own Mind, and said, that this new sort of a War against an invisible Enemy that had disturbed the [Peace of the] Church, ought to be ended by him. (b) Immediately therefore setting in array, as 'twere, a divine Army against him, he convened an *Oecumenical Synod*; by honourable Letters inviting the Bishops every where, to the end they should come with all the speed imaginable, Nor was it a simple and bare Order; but the Emperor's Appoinment gave Assistance to the Business it self. For to some he allowed a Liberty of making use of the *Cursus publicus*: Others he supplied abundantly with the Assurances of Beasts of Burden. Moreover, a most convenient [Place] was assigned for this Synod, a City [namely] which from *Victory* has the Name, *Nicaea*, situate in the Province of the *Bithynians*. When therefore the Emperor's Order was brought into all the Provinces, all Persons [set out] as 'twere from some Goal, and ran with all imaginable Alacrity. For the hope of good things drew them, and the Participation of Peace, and [lastly] the Spectacle of a new Miracle, to wit, the sight of so great an Emperor. When

(a) Chap. V. Concerning the Dissention on account of [the Feast of] Easter. (b) Chap. VI. In what manner he gave order that a Synod should be convened at *Nicaea*.

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therefore they were all come together, that which was done appeared to be the Work of God. For they who were of the greatest distance one from another, not only in Minds but in Bodies, Regions, Places, and Provinces; were seen assembled together in one Place. And one City received them all, as 'twere some vast Garland of Priests, made up of a Variety of beautiful Flowers. (a) The most eminent therefore amongst God's Ministers of all those Churches which fill'd all *Europe, Africk, and Asia*, were convened. And one sacred Oratory, enlarged, as 'twere, by God himself, included at the same time within its Walls, *Syrians and Cilicians, Phœnicians and Arabians; Palestinians* likewise; and moreover *Ægyptians, Thebæans, Libyans*; those also that came out of *Mesopotamia*. There was likewise present at this Synod a *Persian Bishop*; nor was the *Scythian* absent from this Quire. *Pontus* also, *Galatia*, and *Pamphilia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Phrygia* afforded their most select Divines. Moreover, [there appeared here] *Thracians and Macedonians, Achæians and Epirots*, and such as dwelt far beyond these, were nevertheless present. From *Spain* likewise it self, that most celebrated Person [*Hosius*] was one, amongst the many others, who sat in this Synod. The Prelate of the Imperial City was absent indeed, by reason of his Age; but his *Presbyters* were there, who filled his Place. *Constantine* was the only Emperor of all the Princes since the Foundation of the World, who, after he had platted such a Crown as this with the Bond of Peace, dedicated it to Christ his Saviour, as a Divine Present and grateful Acknowledgement for the Victories he had obtained over his Enemies and Adversaries; having constituted this [Synod convened] in our Days, to be a lively Representation of that Apostolick Quire. (b) For 'tis said, that in the Apostles times, there were gathered together devout Men out of every Nation under Heaven (c). Amongst whom were *Parthians, Medes, and Elamites*, and the Inhabitants of *Mesopotamia, Judea, and Cappadocia, of Pontus, and Asia, of Phrygia and Pamphilia, of Ægypt*, and the Parts of *Libya* adjacent to *Cyrene*: Strangers also of *Rome, Jews and Profelytes, Cretians and Arabians*. This only was wanting among them, they who met were not all the Ministers of God. But in this present Quire, there was a Multitude of Bishops, which exceeded the Number of Two Hundred and Fifty. But the Number of the *Presbyters* and *Deacons* who followed them, of the *Aco'lythi*, and of the many other Persons, was not to be comprehended. (d) [Moreover,] of these Ministers of God, some were eminent for their Wisdom and Eloquence; others, for their Integrity of Life, and patient Sufferings of Hardships; others,

(a) Lib. III. Chap. VII. Concerning the Oecumenical Synod, at which were present Bishops out of all Provinces. (b) Chap. VIII. That like as ['tis said] in the Acts of the Apostles, they met together out of various Nations. (c) Acts II. 5. (d) Chap. IX. Concerning the Virtue and Age of the two hundred and fifty Bishops.

were adorned with Modesty and a courteous Behaviour. Some of them were highly respected by reason of their great Age; others were eminent for their youthful Vigour, both of Body and Mind. Some were newly initiated into the Order of the Ministry. To all which Persons the Emperor commanded a plentiful Provision of Food should be every Day allowed. (a) But on the Day appointed for the Synod, whereon the Points in Controversy were to be determined; after every Person concerned in that [Determination] was come to the very middlemost Edifice of the Palace, which [Edifice] in Greatness seemed to exceed all others: And after a great many Seats had been placed in order on both sides of the Room, the Persons who had been sent for went in; and each of them took an agreeable Seat. But when with a besitting Decency the whole Synod had sate down, they were all silent, expecting the Emperor's coming forth. Soon after this enters one, then a second, and a third Person of those about the Emperor. Others also went before, not any of the [Emperor's] usual *Proteſſors* and Guards, but those only of his Friends who profess the Faith of Christ. And when, upon a Sign given which declared the Emperor's Entrance, they had all risen up, at length he himself came walking in the midst, like some Celestial Angel of God: shining with his bright Purple Garment as 'twere with the Splendor of Light, glistering with flaming Rays, and adorned with the clear Brightnesses of Gold and precious Stones. Such was the Attire of his Body. But as to his Mind, 'twas sufficiently manifest, that he was to an Accuracy adorned with a Fear and Reverence of God. And an Indication hereof was given by his cast-down Eyes, by his blushing Countenance, and by his Gate and Motion. Moreover, the rest of his Bodily Shape; his tallness of Stature namely, wherein he excelled all Persons that were about him [as he did likewise] in a Comeliness of Make, in a magnificent Gracefulness of Body, and in an invincible Strength and Might: All these [Accomplishments I say] being mixt with a sweetness of Disposition, and with an Imperial Lenity and Mansuetude, declared the immense Excellency of his Mind to be superior to all manner of Commendation. After the Emperor was come to the upper end of the Seats, in the first Place he stood in the midst. And when a low Chair made of Gold had been placed before him, he sate not down till such time as the Bishops had beckoned to him. As soon as the Emperor had [seated himself,] they all did the same. * (b) Then he of the Bishops, who first sate on the Right-hand Side, arose, and address'd himself to the Emperor in a Speech of an indifferent length, wherein he gave almighty God Thanks and Praise for him. After he had taken his Seat also, Silence was made, all Persons having fixt their Eyes upon the Emperor. When he had look'd upon them all with joyful Eyes and a

(a) Lib. III. Chap. X. *The Synod [was held] in the Palace, amongst whom Constantine went in, and sate together with [the Bishops.]*

(b) Chap. XI. *The Silence of the Synod, after Eusebius the Bishop had made a short Speech.*

Pleasing Countenance, afterwards he made a Recollection of his Own Mind within himself, and with a calm and mild Voice utter'd these Words:

(a) "The Sum of my Prayers (Dearest Friends!) was this, that I might enjoy the sight of your Convention. Which having now obtained, I render my Thanks to [God] the supreme King; because, besides his innumerable other [Benefits,] he hath granted me a sight of this, which is the chiefest of all Goods: I mean, that I might behold all You convened together, and find one and the same unanimous Sentiment amongst you all. Let no envious Enemy therefore in future disturb the happy Posture of our Affairs: And, since that Opposition made by Tyrants against the Deity is wholly removed by the Power of God our Saviour, let not the malignant Devil by any other Methods expose the Divine Law to Blasphemies. For, an intestine Sedition of the Church of God appears to me more grievous and dangerous than any sort of War or Fight whatever: Nor do any external Affairs seem more afflictive to me, than these Matters. Indeed, at such time as, by the Will and Co-operation of God, I had obtained a compleat Victory over mine Enemies, I was of Opinion, that nothing remained to me, but to give God Thanks, and to rejoyce with those whom he by our Means had set at Liberty. But when (contrary to all Expectation) I had received Information of your Disagreement, I look'd upon that thing as in no wise to be neglected: but wishing that by our Assistance a Remedy might be applied to this [Mischief] also, without any delay I called you all together. And I am highly pleased with the Sight of this Your Convention. But shall then judge that I have manag'd this Affair according to my Prayers, when I shall behold all of You conjoyned in your Minds, and one amicable Agreement in common concluded on amongst you all, which it becomes you, who are Persons consecrated to God, to preach to others. Delay not therefore, Dearest Friends, ye Ministers of God, and good Servants of the common Lord and Saviour of us all! But beginning even from hence to take away the Occasions of mutual Dissent amongst you, dissolve every knot of Controversie by the Laws of Peace. For by this Means you will perform both what is most acceptable to the supreme God; and will likewise bestow a transcendent Favour on me your Fellow-Servant.

(a) Having spoken these Words in the *Latin Tongue*, which were done into *Greek* by some other Person, he gave those who presided in the Synod, leave to speak. But then, some of them began to accuse their Neighbours; others answered their Accusations, and on the contrary made Complaints. Many things therefore being in this Manner proposed on both sides, and a great Controversy rais'd even at the first beginning [of the Debate,] the Emperor heard

(a) Lib. III. Chap. XII. Constantine's [Speech] to the Synod concerning Peace. (b) Chap. XIII. That he reduced those Bishops who were at difference, to an Agreement.

them

them all very patiently, and with an intent Mind received their proposed Questions; and by turns assisting the Assertions of both Parties, by degrees he reduced them, who pertinaciously opposed each other, to a more sedate Temper of Mind: And by his gracious Speeches to each Person, and his making use of the *Greek* Tongue, (for he was not unskilled in that Language,) he rendred himself most extraordinarily pleasing and delightful; inducing some to be of his Opinion by the force of his Arguments; wooing other by Entreaties; praising those who spoke well; and exciting all to an Agreement: till at length he had made them all of the same Mind and Opinion, in relation to all Matters concerning which they had before disagreed. (a) So that there was not only an universal Agreement about the [Articles of] Faith, but one and the same time also was generally acknowledged for the Celebration of the salutary Feast [of *Easter*.] Moreover, the Determinations ratified by a Common Consent, were engrossed, and confirmed by the Subscription of every Person. Which things having in this manner been performed, the Emperor affirmed that he had obtained this second Victory against the Enemy of the Church, and celebrated a triumphant Feast in Honour of God. (b) At the same time the twentieth Year of his Empire was compleated. On which account publick Feasts were celebrated in all the other Provinces; and the Emperor himself began the Feasts with the Ministers of God, banqueting together with them now reconciled one with another, and by them offering this becoming Sacrifice as 'twere to God. Nor was any of the Bishops absent from this Imperial Feast. Further, what was then performed, surpasses the Bounds of any Narrative. For the *Profectors* and Soldiers, with the naked Points of their Swords, on all sides guarded the *Porticus's* of the Palace; thorough the midst of whom the Men of God without Fear passed, and went into the inmost Rooms of the Palace. Then, some of them lay down together with the Emperor; others rested themselves on *Stibadia* [or, Beds to eat on] placed on both sides. One would have thought, that a Representation of Christ's Kingdom was adumbrated, and that the thing it self was a Dream, but nothing more. (c) After the Feast had in a most splendid Manner been kept, the Emperor received them all, and out of his own Magnificence added this also, that he honoured every one of them according to his Desert and Dignity, with Presents from himself. He likewise gave an account of this Synod, even to those who were not present at it, by his own Letter: Which I will insert into this very Narrative concerning him [and will publish it fix'd] as 'twere upon some Pillar. The Contents thereof are these.

(a) Lib III. Chap. XIV. *The Concordant Determination of the Synod concerning the Faith, and concerning Easter.* (b) Chap. XV. *That Constantine entertained the Bishops at a Feast, it being his Vicennalia.* (c) Ch. XVI. *Gifts bestowed on the Bishops, and the Letters written to all.*

Constantinus Augustus, to the Churches.

(a) **H**AVING sufficiently experienced, by the flourishing Posture of the State, how great the Benignity of the Divine Power has been towards us; I judged it my chiefest Concern and Aim [to labour] for the Preservation of one Faith, a sincere Love, and one universally-acknowledged Religion towards Almighty God, amongst the most blessed Congregations of the Catholick Church. But in regard this thing could not be firmly and stedfastly constituted, unless all, or at least the greatest part of the Bishops were conven'd in one Place, and every Particular that concerns the most Holy Religion were discussed: On this Account, when as many of the Clergy, as could possibly be got together, were assembled, and I my Self also, as one of you, was present with them (for I will not deny, what I account my greatest Glory, that I am your Fellow-Servant;) all Matters were sufficiently discussed so far, till such time as an Opinion acceptable to God, the Inspector of all things, was brought to light, in order to an universal Agreement and Union: so that no Place might be left for Dissention or Controversie, in relation to the Faith. (b) Where also, after a Disquisition made concerning the most Holy Day of *Easter*, it was by a general Opinion thought good to be decreed, that [that Festival] ought to be celebrated by all Persons in all Places on one and the same Day. For what can be more comely, what more grave and decent for us, than that this Festival, from which we have received the Hopes of Immortality, should be unerringly kept by all Men, in one and the same Order, and in a manner apparently agreeable? And in the first Place, it seemed [to all] to be a thing unworthy and misbecoming, that in the Celebration of that most Holy Solemnity we should follow the Usage of the *Jews*. Who being Persons that have defiled their own Hands with a most detestable Sin, are deservedly impure and blind as to their Minds. For, their Usage being rejected, we may by a truer Order, which we have observed from the first Day of the Passion until this present time, propagate the Rite of this Observance to future Ages. Let nothing therefore be common to us with that most hostile Multitude of the *Jews*. For we have received another way from our Saviour. There is proposed to us a lawful and decent Course to [Our] most sacred Religion. Let us therefore (Dearest Brethren!) with one accord constantly persist in this Course, and withdraw our selves from that most impure [Society and] their Conscience. For 'tis really most absurd, that they should boast, that we are not sufficient of our selves, without their Instruction, to observe these things. But, of what are they able to pass a right Judgment, who after the Murder of the Lord, and that Parricide, having been struck with Madness, are led, not by the Conduct

(a) Lib. III. Chap. XVII. Constantine's [Letter] to the Churches, concerning the Synod [convened] at Nicæa. (b) Chap. XVIII. The same Person's [Words] concerning the Agreement about the Feast of Easter, and against the Jews.

of Reason, but by an ungovernable *Impetus*, whithersoever their innate Rage shall drive them? Hence therefore it is that even in this Particular they discern not the Truth: in so much that, wandering at the greatest distance from a decent and agreeable Amendment, they celebrate *Easter* twice within one and the same Year. What Reason have we to follow these Men, who, 'tis acknowledged, are distemper'd with a most grievous Error? For we shall never endure the keeping of two *Easters* in one and the same Year. But, altho' what I have said were not sufficient, yet nevertheless it behoveth your Prudence, to make it your greatest Care, and the constant Matter of your Prayers, that the Purity of your Souls should not in any thing seem to have Communion with the Usages of most wicked Men. Besides, this also is to be considered, that 'tis a most detestable thing, that there should any Disagreement be found in a Matter of so great Concern, and in such a Solemnity of Religion. For our Saviour left us but one Festival Day of our Liberty, that is the Day of his most holy Passion: and 'twas his Will, that his Catholick Church should be one. The Members of which Church (although for the most Part they are dispersed into many and various Places, nevertheless) are cherished by one Spirit, that is, by the Divine Will. Let the Prudence of your Sanctiury consider, how grievous and undecent a thing it is, that on the self-same Days some should keep strict Fasts, and others celebrate Feasts: and that after the Days of *Easter*, some should be conversant in Feastings and a Relaxation [of their Minds;] and others devote themselves to set Fasts. Wherefore, 'tis the Will of Divine Providence that this thing should be redressed by a convenient Emendation, and reduced to one and the same Form, as I suppose you are all sensible. (a) Since therefore it was expedient to make such an Amendment in this Matter, as that we might have nothing in common with the Usage of those Parricides and Murderers of our Lord: And since this is the most decent and becoming Order, which all the Churches of the Western, Southern and Northern Parts of the World, and also some of the Eastern Parts, do observe: On this account all Persons have at present judged it good and expedient, (and I my self have promised that it would please your Prudence,) that that which with one and a concordant Mind is observed in the City of Rome, and over all Italy, Africa, Egypt, Spain, the Gallia's, the Britannia's, the Libya's, throughout all Achaia, the Asian and Pontick Dioceses, and Cilicia; your Prudence also would most willingly embrace and receive. Which [Wisdom of yours] will consider, that not only the Number of the Churches in the forementioned Places is far the greater; but that 'tis most just and equal, that all Men should in common desire that, which strict Reason seems to require, and should have no Communion with the Perjury of the Jews. But, that I may speak more summarily and briefly, it has pleased the Judgment of

(a) Lib. III. Chap. XIX. *An Exhortation, that they would rather follow the greatest part of the World.* all

all in common, that the most Holy Feast of *Easter* should be celebrated on one and the same Day. For 'tis indecent, that there should be any Difference in so great a Sanctity: And 'tis better to follow that Opinion, wherein there is no Mixture of strange Error and Impiety. (a) Since therefore these things are thus, do you with all Willingness receive this Gift of God, and this truly divine Commandment. For whatever is transacted [and determined] in the holy Assemblies of Bishops, that has a reference to the divine Will. Wherefore, when you shall have intimated to all our beloved Brethren those Matters which have been transacted, you ought to embrace and establish the forementioned Rule and Observation of the most Holy Day: that when I shall come into the Presence of your Love (which I have long since been desirous of,) I may celebrate the holy Festival with you, on one and the same Day, and may rejoyce with you for all things, beholding the Cruelty of the Devil totally removed by the Divine Power, and by our Endeavours; whilst your Faith, Peace, and Concord does every where flourish. God preserve you, Dearest Brethren!

A Copy of this very Letter was by the Emperor transmitted into every Province; whereby, as in a Glass, he gives those that read it, the clearest View of his own Mind, and of his Piety towards God. (b) Further, when the Synod was about to be dissolved, he made a *Valedictory Speech* to the Bishops. For on a set Day he called them all together. And when they were met, he advised them that they should use their utmost Diligence to preserve Peace one with another, and to avoid pertinacious Contentions; that they should not be envious, if any Bishop amongst them appeared eminent and approved for Wisdom and Eloquence: But, should account the Virtue of every one to be a common good: That those who were the more eminent ought not to exalt themselves above them who were meaner: For, that it was God's Property to give a Judgment concerning every one's true Vertue and Worth. That it was rather behoveable, that [the more eminent] should yield and condescend to the weaker, with an Indulgence and Lenity; especially, in regard 'twas very difficult to find any thing every way perfect. Wherefore, that it behoved them to grant one another Pardon for small Offences, and to forgive and remit whatever has been committed through humane Frailty; having always an high Regard to, and Honour for mutual Concord; least whilst they raise Seditions and Factions one amongst another, an Occasion of Derision might be given to those, who are ready to blaspheme the Divine Law. Of which Persons we must take the greatest Care, and ought to do all things, in regard they might easily be saved, if those things performed amongst us could seem to them desirable and worthy of imitation. And, that they [ought] not to doubt that the Advantage [arising] from Discourses does not profit al

(a) Lib. III. Chap. XX. *An Exhortation, that [all] should give their Assent to the Decrees of the Synod.* (b) Ch. XXI [His] *Advice to the Bishops now ready to go away, that they would preserve Unity.* Men-

Men: For some rejoyce, that Conveniencies are allowed them as 'twere in order to their Maintenance: Others are wont to flie to Patronage. Some love those from whom they have had a kind Reception: and others being honoured with Gifts, are thereby induced to enter into a Friendship. But their Number is small who are true Lovers of Discourses, and 'tis a rare thing to find a Friend of Truth. For which reason they ought all to fit and conform themselves [to all Men,] and (like a Physician) administer to each Person those things which are profitable for Salvation; to the end that the saving Doctrine may be honoured by all Men. These were the Admonitions [given them by the Emperor] in the first place. But in the Close he added, that with all Diligence and Earnestness they would put up their Prayers to God in behalf of him. Having in this manner taken leave of them, he permitted them all to return into their own Countries. They therefore went home with all the Cheerfulness imaginable, and in future one Opinion, which had been agreed on in the Emperor's Presence, prevailed amongst all Men; in regard, those who for a long time had been disunited, closed again in one Body as 'twere. (a) The Emperor therefore, rejoycing at this great Success, by his Letters imparted most plentiful and pleasing Fruit to those who had not been present at the Synod. Moreover, he ordered liberal Distributions of Money to be made amongst all the People, as well those in the Countries as them in the Cities, in this manner honouring the publick Festival [celebrated] on account of the twentieth Year of his Empire. (b) But when all other persons were at Peace one with another, amongst the *Agyptians* only the mutual Contention was fierce and implacable: In so much that they did again disturb the Emperor, nevertheless, they excited him not to Anger. For he treated them with all the Honour imaginable, as if they had been Fathers, or rather Prophets of God, and called them to him a second time, and did again with great Patience mediate between them, and honoured them with Gifts again, and declared to them his Determination by a Letter: Wherein he confirmed and established the Decrees of the Synod, and besought them that they would be studious to preserve Concord, that they should not distract nor tear in sunder the Church, but, that they should take into their Consideration the Memory of the Judgment of God. And these things the Emperor suggested to them by a peculiar Letter.

The Synodical Epistle of the great Council of Jerusalem for the Admission of the Arians to Communion: To which is subjoyn'd the Copy of that Creed of Arius and Euzoius therein referr'd to, upon which they were admitted. Out of Athanasius de Synod. Arim. & Seleuc. § 21. Sozocrar. Hist. Eccl. L. I. c. 26. and Sozomen Hist. Eccl. L. II. c. 27.

The Holy Synod, which by the Grace of God is assembled at Jerusalem, to the Church of God which is at Alexandria; and to the Bishops through all Ægypt, and Thebais, and Libya, and Pentapolis; as also to the Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons throughout all the World, send greeting in the Lord.

THE Grace of Christ has afforded us great Joy, which also our Emperor, most beloved of God, has by his own Letters encreased to us all, as we are assembled together, from different Provinces, to this great Solemnity. which we have now finished, by the Consecration of the great Temple of the Martyrs, which through the Care of our Emperor, most beloved of God, is dedicated to God the King of the Universe, and to his Christ. Our Emperor excites us to what is our Duty, in order to banish all that Envy and Malice quite away from the Church of God, whereby the Members of Christ have for a great while been divided from one another, and to re-

(a) Lib. III. Chap. XXII. In what manner he sent to some, and wrote to others, and [concerning] the Distributions of Money. (b) Chap. XXIII. How he wrote to the *Ægyptians*, and exhorted them to Peace.

ceive those *Arians* with an honest and peaceable Mind whom ill Will, that always hates what is good, had caused to be banished out of the Church. Now the Emperor, most beloved of God, gave his Attestation to the Orthodoxy of the Faith of these Men by his Letter; Which right Faith he had also upon Enquiry from them himself, by Word of Mouth, and has subjoyn'd to his own Letter an orthodox Account of that their Faith in Writing. [N. B. This Creed is in the Epistle inserted below.] Which Account we all own to be sound, and agreeable to Ecclesiastical Tradition. He has also with good Reason exhorted us that these Men should be received, and united to the Church of God, as you shall understand this by the Copies of the same Epistle which we have sent to your Piety. We believe that you will have great joy and Satisfaction by thus receiving back, as it were, the proper Members of your own Body, and owning and admitting your own Brethren, and Fathers, while you have restored to you not only the *Arian* Presbyters, but all the People, and the intire Multitude, which upon account of them have been a long time divided from you. And certainly 'tis fit to rejoyce on this Occasion, now you are acquainted how their Matters stand, and how those Men have been admitted to Communion, and have been most cheerfully received by this so great and holy Synod, and to embrace them as pledges of a common Conjunction with, and Peace among the proper Members of the Church. Especially because this Confession of their Faith does without Dispute agree with that which is acknowledged by all to be the Apostolical Tradition and Doctrine.

Arius and Euzoius's Epistle to the Emperor Constantine, containing the Confession of their Faith before referr'd to. Out of Socrat. Hist. Eccl. L. I. c. 26. and Sozomen Hist. Eccl. L. II. c. 27.

Arius and Euzoius, to our most Religious and most Pious Lord Constantine the Emperor.

According to the Order of your Piety, most acceptable to God, (Our Lord the Emperor,) we do declare our Faith, and in Writing profess, in the Presence of God, that we and all our Adherents do believe as followeth. We believe in one God the Father Almighty, and in the Lord Jesus Christ his Son, who was begotten by him before all Worlds: God the Word, by whom all things were made, that are in Heaven, and that are on Earth: Who came down from Heaven, and was incarnate, and suffered, and rose again, and ascended into the Heavens, who also shall come again to judge the quick and the dead. [We also believe] in the Holy Ghost, and in the Resurrection of the Flesh, and in the Life of the World to come, and in the Kingdom of Heaven, and in one Catholick Church of God [which is spread] from one end of the World to the other. This Faith we have received from the Holy Gospels, the Lord saying to his Disciples. *Go ye and teach all Nations, baptizing them unto the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost (a).* If we do not thus believe these things, and [if we do not] truly admit of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, in such manner as the whole Catholick Church, and the Scriptures (which we believe in all things) do teach, God is our Judge, both now, and in the Judgment to come. We therefore beseech your Piety (O Emperor, most acceptable to God!) that we being Ecclesiastical Persons, and holding the Faith and Sense of the Church, and the Holy Scriptures, may by your pacifick and religious Piety be united to our Mother, to wit the Church, all Questions and superfluous Disputations being wholly taken away and suppressed: that so both we and the Church, enjoying a mutual Peace and Union, may jointly offer up our usual Prayers for the peaceable Reign of your Imperial Majesty, and for your whole Family.

N. B. This Reception of the *Arians* into the Church by this Council of Jerusalem is very remarkable; not only because it was done at the desire of *Constantine*, who had before banish'd some of them; and by a Council more numerous than that of *Nice*, as *Eusebius* assures us this was (b); but because of the Caution it used before their Admission, viz. not till the *Arians* had left all their rash and novel Expressions out of their Creed, and confined themselves to the ancient and undoubted Language of the Primitive Church.

(a) *Mat. XXVIII. 19.* (b) *De Vit. Constant. L. IV. c. 47.*

